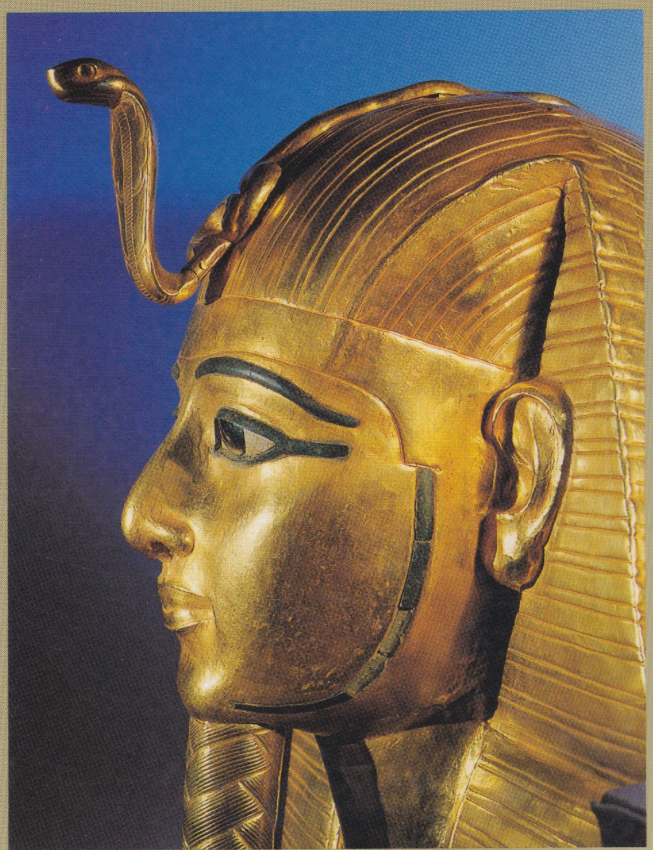

GOLD OF THE PHARAOHS

GOLD OF THE PHARAOHS

Colin A. Hope

An exhibition provided by the
Egyptian Antiquities Organisation

Museum of Victoria
International Cultural Corporation of Australia Limited

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY
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BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

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Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth
18 October – 27 November 1988
Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney
14 December 1988 – 5 March 1989
Museum of Victoria, Melbourne
22 March – 11 June 1989

A STATEMENT FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE R J L HAWKE AC MP PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA

After many years of effort to bring to Australia a major exhibition of Egyptian antiquities I am delighted that Gold of the Pharaohs is to be presented in four Australian cities.

The exhibition has been made possible by the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, which generously offered to arrange for Gold of the Pharaohs to come to Australia as Egypt's way of marking Australia's Bicentenary.

Australia's long-standing and warm relations with Egypt cover a wide variety of fields and will be strengthened by this magnificent exhibition from Egypt's national heritage. I have no doubt Gold of the Pharaohs will enrich the experience of thousands of Australians.

Modern Australia is linked to the early Egyptian civilisation by the threads of history and an understanding of the civilisations of the ancient world can give valuable insights into the development of western civilisation.

Gold of the Pharaohs offers a glimpse of the wealth, romance and fascination of Tanis, a capital city known in the Bible as Zoan. In the words of Pierre Montet, the modern discoverer of the Pharaonic tombs of Tanis, I wish you "a journey of wonder worthy of the Thousand and One Nights".

A STATEMENT FROM HIS EXCELLENCY, MR NABIL MOHAMMED BADR EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRALIA

It gives me great pleasure on the occasion of the Australian Bicentenary to present the first Exhibition of Egyptian Antiquities to be held in Australia.

'Gold of the Pharaohs' is not only intended as a major cultural event, it is as well, a message of friendship Egyptians would like to extend to Australia and Australians on this occasion.

The Exhibition will present an opportunity for Australians to glimpse a very ancient civilization that fostered development, knowledge and human exchanges: values we share together as Australians and Egyptians. These values are of special importance in a world that looks forward to greater understanding, friendship and peace.

I am certain Egyptians share with me that feeling of friendship and aspirations for an ever growing relationship between our two countries.

Nabil Badr

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Cover Profile of the gold mask of Psusennes I from his burial at Tanis.

International Cultural Corporation of Australia Limited was established by the Australian Government in 1980 as a non-profit public company limited by guarantee, to arrange and manage international exhibitions. Its principal activity is to work in close collaboration with Australian and overseas galleries and museums to bring to Australia significant exhibitions of great artistic, cultural and historical interest.

The Directors of the Corporation are proud and delighted to manage yet another superb exhibition brought to Australia through the generosity of the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the assistance of its representative in Australia, His Excellency Mr Nabil Mohammed Badr. It is an exceptional gesture of goodwill to allow such rare treasures from Egypt's past to travel to Australia and tour to four State institutions on the occasion of our Bicentenary. We acknowledge with sincere gratitude the generosity and goodwill of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation and its Chairman, and the Cairo Museum and its Director, Mr Mohamed Mohsen.

The International Committee of Honour is chaired by Mr Samuel Zavatti, Managing Director of the Bank of America Australia. We are indebted to him for assistance in negotiations for the exhibition and to its members for their support of the project.

The Museum of Victoria is the organising institution in Australia with assistance from the Art Gallery of New South Wales. We thank them both. Robert Edwards, Director of the Museum of Victoria, is the Chairman of the National Planning Committee. We express our gratitude to all the members of the Committee for the time they have given and for their advice. We especially thank Robert Edwards who has worked tirelessly in Australia and in his visits to Cairo to bring this project to an exciting reality.

An exhibition of the magnitude of 'GOLD OF THE PHARAOHS' can be arranged only with the assistance of many individuals and organisations. The Corporation gratefully acknowledges the role of the Bank of America Australia in seeking financial underwriting for the exhibition which culminated in two highly significant sponsorships: those of the Australian Wheat Board and Singapore Airlines. The Corporation deeply appreciates the very generous support of these sponsors. We also offer special thanks to Australian Airlines for its generous contribution to the project.

The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade have supported the negotiations. We are deeply indebted to His Excellency, Mr Ian Hutchens, the Australian Ambassador to Egypt, and his staff, for assistance at all times throughout the planning stages of the exhibition.

The Corporation records its thanks to the officers of the Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories who have worked with great efficiency to organise the indemnity for the Egyptian collection.

I trust Australians will take full advantage of the unique opportunity to gain important insights into one of the world's greatest ancient cultures.

JAMES B LESLIE, AO, MC
CHAIRMAN
INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL
CORPORATION OF AUSTRALIA

Dramatic changes in international transport in the 1950s when aircraft replaced ships, began the process of bringing far flung countries much closer together.

The vast network of world museums and galleries took advantage of this situation and initiated the development of what has become a highly sophisticated and regular programme of touring exhibitions.

Even Australia which had suffered so long from the 'tyranny of distance,' was able to participate more actively in international exchanges.

This sharing of cultural and artistic traditions has led to a greatly enhanced understanding between peoples on almost every continent.

Many governments have encouraged the exchange programmes by creating indemnification schemes to obviate the high cost of insurance premiums. Australia has become a leader in this field.

Gold of the Pharaohs, the latest of the great world exchange exhibitions, is intriguing, complex and exciting. It is the first time in Australia that a State Museum and Art Gallery have come together to initiate a major project of this kind. We have been supported by an efficient management organisation and generous sponsors.

A constant exchange of large exhibitions can be undertaken only with the most elaborate packing, transport and security arrangements. To do otherwise would place in jeopardy a significant part of the world heritage of movable cultural property.

The advice of David Epstein of W R Keating, New York, was invaluable during the planning stages.

The oldest firm of international packers and customs agents in the world, André Chenue & Fils of Paris, has placed its vast experience at the disposal of the organisers.

The exhibition is being supervised by Carol Henry, the Senior Project Manager at the Corporation. She has worked in close co-operation with specialists in Singapore and Australian Airlines, the Department of Administrative Services and the Australian Protective Service. This has created a most efficient and elaborate organisational structure to manage the project.

Gold of the Pharaohs comes to Australia as a consequence of a team of dedicated individuals. The project had its beginnings several years ago with the deep commitment of Dr Jean Battersby, then Head of the Australia Council and a Director of the Corporation. Professional input came from Dr I E S Edwards, Former Keeper of Egyptian Department of the British Museum and organiser of the great Tutankhamun Exhibition.

Edmund Capon has given new impetus to the project with his expertise in exhibition design and development and knowledge of Pharaonic Egypt. Dr Colin Hope has brought to life, in words and through the superb photographs of Werner Forman, the days when Tanis was the grandest city of them all.

Members of the National Planning Committee have worked relentlessly to take full advantage of the offer which came from Egypt in our Bicentennial Year. My sincere thanks are extended to all who have dedicated their time and enthusiasm to ensure the success of the most important exhibition ever to come to Australia.

ROBERT EDWARDS
CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

Although Pierre Montet must have realized that there was a possibility of finding the royal tombs of the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties (c. 1080–785 B.C.) at Tanis when he began his excavations in 1929, it could only have been one of his many reasons for choosing to go there. He believed that it was the site of the famous Delta residence of Ramesses II (c. 1290–1224 B.C.), called Pi-Ramesse in the Egyptian texts and Rameses in the Old Testament, and he still thought so to the end of his life, but subsequent discoveries have shown beyond reasonable doubt that Pi-Ramesse was situated at Qantir, about eleven miles south of Tanis.

With the advent of the twenty-first dynasty, while a succession of High Priests of Amun held local sovereignty at Thebes, the former capital, and even adopted some royal prerogatives, the official capital was established at Tanis, the Greek form of the Biblical Zoan and the Egyptian Djane. Long before that happened, however, the administrative affairs were largely conducted from Memphis and Pi-Ramesse.

Egyptian kings were usually buried at or near their capitals, so Tanis was the natural place for the location of the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasty royal tombs. Other archaeologists, notably Auguste Mariette and Flinders Petrie, had already worked there but had not found them. When, in 1939 – the eleventh year of his excavations – Montet discovered the tombs, he was not following up any particular clue; he was simply trying to find out why the southern enclosure wall of the great temple of Amun deviated in a south-westerly direction, instead of running parallel to the temple wall. It was in the gap between the two walls at the south-west corner that he found the small complex of stone-built subterranean tomb-chambers which contained the burials of the two kings of the twenty-first dynasty (Psusennes I and Amenemope), three kings of the twenty-second dynasty (Osorkon II, Takeloth II and Shoshenq III), an apparent co-regent of Osorkon I (Shoshenq II), a prince (Hornakht) and two army commanders of Psusennes I.

The tombs of Psusennes I, Amenemope, Shoshenq II and one of the army commanders, named Wen-djeba-en-djed, were found intact, while the tomb of Hornakht had been only partially robbed. Owing to dampness, all the bodies had decayed, but an examination of the skull of Amenemope (who had been buried in a sarcophagus intended for Queen Mutnodjmet, wife of Psusennes I) revealed that his death, at the age of about fifty, was due to a head injury, followed by an infection which resulted in meningitis. Climatic conditions in the Delta are much more humid than in Upper Egypt, or even in the neighbourhood of Memphis, and consequently perishable material stands a poor chance of survival.

Apart from the contents of his tomb and some of Psusennes I's constructions, which included the massive brick enclosure wall of the great temple of Tanis, very little is known about either Psusennes I or Amenemope. The name of Psusennes I, which means 'The star which has appeared at Thebes,' strongly suggests that he had a Theban origin, and the same can be said of Amenemope, 'Amun is in Ope' (i.e. Thebes). Both kings exceptionally added the title High Priest of Amun to their royal titles, either because they wanted to show their supremacy over the Theban pontiff or to raise the prestige of the temple of Amun at Tanis to the level of that of the temple of Karnak.

On the death of Psusennes II, the last king of the twenty-first dynasty, a king of Libyan extraction, Shoshenq I, ascended to the throne as the first of a line of nine kings, of whom three bore his name, three were called Osorkon, two Takeloth and one Pinay. The warrior kings of the nineteenth dynasty and Ramesses III of the twentieth dynasty had brought back prisoners, together with women and children, from their battles with their Libyan neighbours. At first, they were placed in prison-camps east of the Nile, but, in time, they were freed and many of the men served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army, being given tracts of land in payment for their services. Their numbers were increased by the infiltration of immigrants until, by the end of the twenty-first dynasty, they had become sizeable communities, headed by their own

chiefs. Shoshenq I, before becoming king, bore the title of Great Chief of the (Libyan tribe) Mashwesh. His forebears had probably lived in Egypt since the twentieth dynasty and there is evidence to suggest that he was related to the last kings of the twenty-first dynasty. He was a powerful ruler whose best known achievement was the conquest of Palestine, which is graphically recorded in the temple of Karnak and is mentioned in the Old Testament (I Kings 14: 25–6) as having taken place in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboen, son of Solomon, which probably coincided with one of the last years of Shoshenq's reign of twenty-one years.

Egypt's revival under Shoshenq I was not destined to last for very long. Only two of his successors, Osorkon I and Osorkon II, seem to have left much of a legacy. Already in the reign of the latter much of Lower Egypt was divided into provinces of differing sizes, all being placed under governors, some of whom were Osorkon II's sons and grandsons.

According to the Old Testament narrative, Shishak, as Shoshenq I is called, seized the treasures of the royal palace and the temple in Jerusalem, as well as all the shields of gold which Solomon had made. Whether or not some of that gold, when melted down, was used for making any of the Tanis treasures it is impossible to know.

The tomb of Shoshenq I was not identified by Montet in the Tanis complex, although it is possible that he was buried there. A second sarcophagus in the tomb of Shoshenq III contained objects inscribed with his name, which led Montet to conjecture that the body of Shoshenq I had been transferred there from his own tomb after it had been robbed. A pectoral and a pair of massive gold bracelets bearing his names were found in the tomb of Shoshenq II, a king not previously known who may have been only a co-regent of Osorkon I. In order to explain their presence, two possibilities have been suggested: either they were heirlooms or the body was that of Shoshenq I, who would have changed his fore-name late in life, for which there is no other evidence. The body of the king, with a gold mask over the face, lay in a falcon-headed silver coffin. It was richly equipped with jewellery, some of which is shown in the Exhibition.

Even before Montet had made his remarkable discoveries, works of art of the highest quality, dating from the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties, particularly in bronze, had come to light. There was nothing, however, from the period to parallel the four magnificent gold masks of Psusennes I, Amenope, Shoshenq II and Wen-djeba-en-djed, the most outstanding being that of Psusennes I, which bears comparison with the famous mask of Tutankhamun. Mummiform coffins in stone, wood and cartonnage are common, but those in silver of Psusennes I and Shoshenq II, the latter with the head of a falcon representing the god Sokaris, are unique and technically not much inferior to Tutankhamun's gold coffin. The silver miniature coffins which held the internal organs of Shoshenq II, removed in the process of mummification, are also among the many outstanding and rare pieces in the collection. Perhaps the most striking class of all the objects is that of the gold and silver vessels, to which the contents of the tomb of Tutankhamun could offer no more than one parallel. Their elegance of form and delicacy of execution place them among the finest examples of their kind in Egyptian art. To judge Egyptian jewellery simply by its aesthetic appeal is to disregard the chief purpose for which most of what has been preserved was made. It was intended to have an amuletic function, to protect its wearer from various hostile elements and forces. The Tanis jewellery was placed on the mummified bodies of the kings and it was therefore funerary. Nevertheless, some of it could equally well have been worn in life. Whatever effect its artistic qualities may have on the modern eye, its technical perfection is an impressive example of the skill of the ancient Egyptian lapidaries and goldsmiths.

I E S EDWARDS
FORMER KEEPER, DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT

PERIOD	DYNASTIES	DATES
PREDYNASTIC PERIOD		*TO 3050 B.C.*
ARCHAIC PERIOD	I–II	3050–2685 B.C.
OLD KINGDOM	III–VI	2685–2180 B.C.
FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	VII – EARLY XI	2180–2040 B.C.
MIDDLE KINGDOM	LATE XI–XII	2040–1782 B.C.
SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	XIII–XVII	1782–1570 B.C.
NEW KINGDOM	XVIII–XX	1570–1069 B.C.
THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	XXI–XXV	1069–664 B.C.
LATE PERIOD	XXVI–XXX	664–332 B.C.
PTOLEMAIC PERIOD	–	332–30 B.C.
ROMAN PERIOD	–	30 B.C.–A.D. 395
BYZANTINE/COPTIC PERIOD	–	A.D. 305–641
ARAB CONQUEST	–	A.D. 641

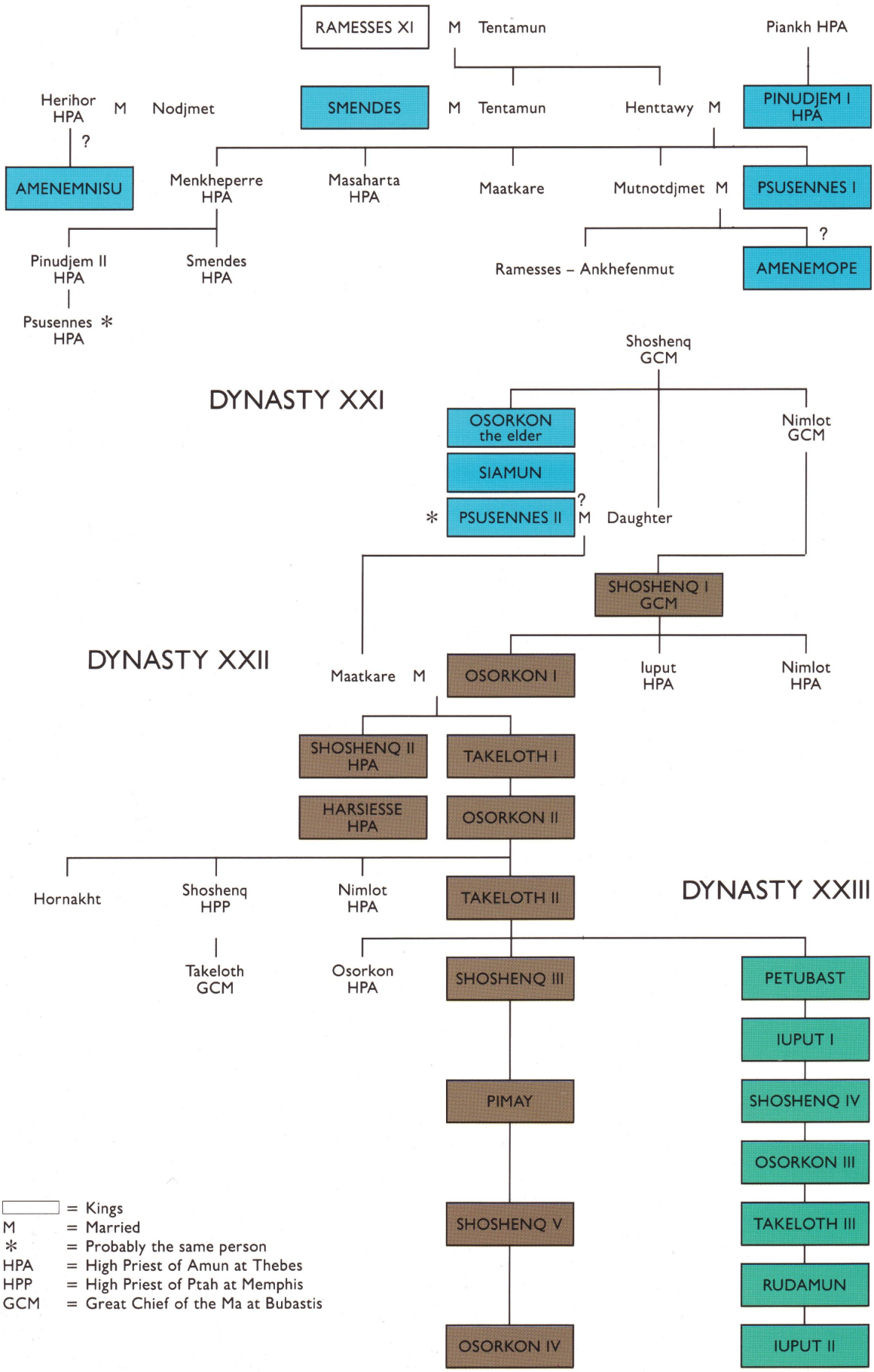
CHRONOLOGY OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

[after K A Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 2nd Edition (Warminster, 1986)]

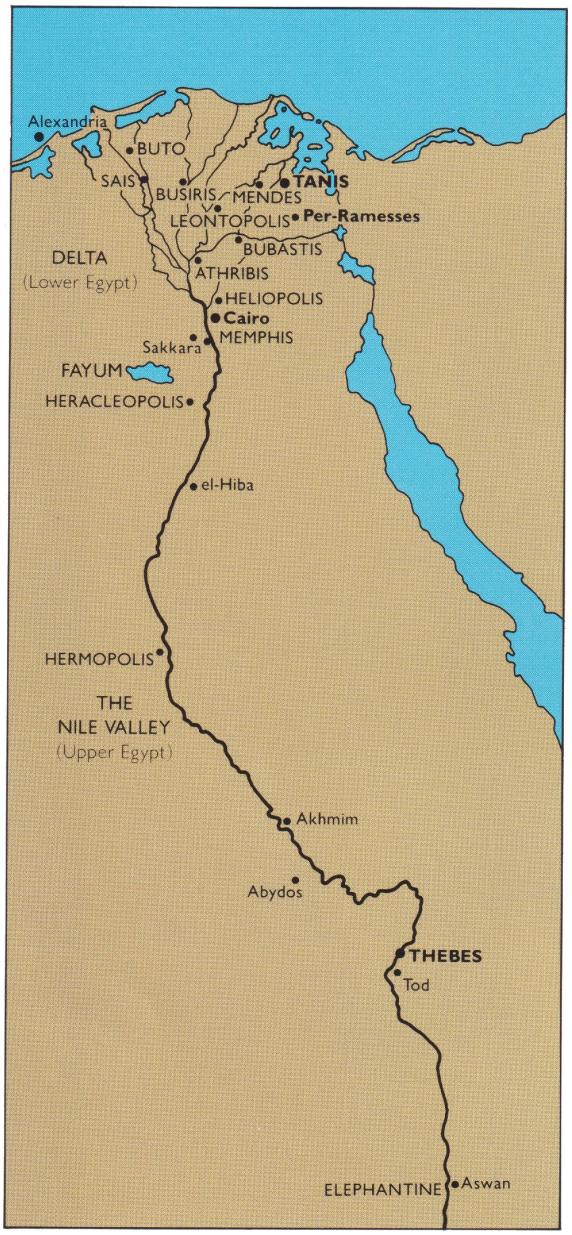
DYNASTY	KINGS	DATE (B.C.)	HIGH PRIESTS AT THEBES
XX	*Ramesses XI*	1098–1069	*Amunhotep*
	Renaissance Era	1080–	
	Smendes At Tanis	1080–1069	*Herihor*
			Piankh
XXI	*Smendes*	1069–1043	*Pinudjem I*
	Pinudjem I	1054–1032	*Masaharta*
	Amenemnisu	1043–1039	
	Psusennes I	1039–991	*Menkheperre*
	Amenemope	993–984	*Smendes*
			Pinudjem II
	Osorkon The Elder	984–978	
	Siamun	978–959	*Psusennes*
	Psusennes II	959–945	
	(It is probable that Psusennes the high priest ascended the throne as Psusennes II)		
XXII	*Shoshenq I*	945–924	*Iuput*
	Osorkon I	924–889	*Shoshenq*
	Shoshenq II	Circa 890	*Smendes*
	(The high priest Shoshenq ascended the throne as Shoshenq II)		
	Takeloth I	889–874	*Iuwelot*
	Osorkon II	874–850	*Nimlot*
	Harsiese	870–860	(co-regent only)
	Takeloth II	850–825	*Osorkon*
	Shoshenq III	825–818	

	XXIInd DYNASTY		XXIIIrd DYNASTY	DATE
	Shoshenq III	818–773	Petubast	818–793
			Iuput I	804–803?
			Shoshenq IV	793–787
	Pimay	773–767	Osorkon III	787–759
	Shoshenq V	767–730	Takeloth III	764–757
			Rudamun	757–754
	Osorkon IV	730–715	Iuput II	754–720/715
Circa 728	Osorkon IV	Iuput II	Pefjauawybast	Nimlot
	(Tanis)	(Leontopolis)	(Heracleopolis)	(Hermopolis)
	XXIVth DYNASTY		XXVth DYNASTY	
	Tefnakht I	727–720	Piankhy	747–716
	Bakenrenef	720–715	Shabako	716–702
	XXVIth DYNASTY		Shebitku	702–690
	Necho I	672–664	Taharqa	690–664
	Psammetichus I	664–610	Tantamani	664–656
656 B.C.	Psammetichus I reunited Egypt			

GENEALOGIES OF THE KINGS OF DYNASTIES XXI – XXIII



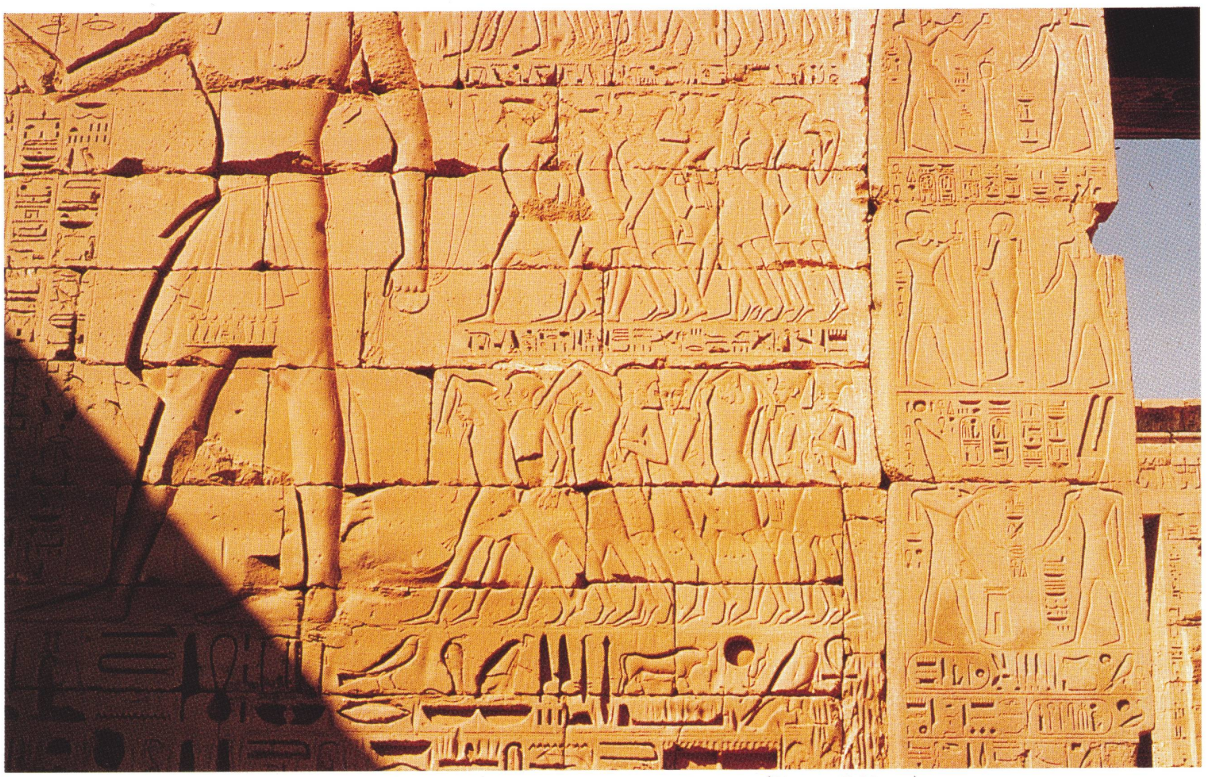
HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD



History of the Third Intermediate Period:
Head of Silver Coffin of Psusennes I from Tanis.

At the beginning of the third century B.C. the Egyptian priest Manetho wrote a history of his country in which he grouped the kings of Egypt into thirty dynasties, or families. Despite certain inadequacies in this system it has been maintained and still forms the framework for all historical discussion. These dynasties have been arranged by modern historians into a series of broader periods which reflect degrees of internal political cohesion or fragmentation. Following the unification of Egypt into a single state under one semi-divine king at the beginning of the first dynasty, three main periods characterised by a strong central government are distinguished. They have been termed the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. To them may be added the XXVIth Dynasty, or Saite Period, a part of the Late Period, during which Egypt witnessed a temporary revival before finally collapsing under the onslaught of foreign armies and being annexed to the Persian, Greek and Roman Empires.

Each of these four periods is separated by intervals of disunity during which government of the country was divided amongst rival factions. During such times Egypt tended to fall into two basic divisions: the Delta and the Nile Valley beyond. This bifurcation is inherent within the geography of the country and was acknowledged by the ancient Egyptians. According to Egyptian tradition these two areas were separate kingdoms before the Ist dynasty, whereafter the official titulary of the kings indicated their union within his person; branches of the administration were divided into northern and southern departments. These periods of disunity are termed Intermediate Periods. The first two separate the Old and Middle Kingdoms and the Middle and New Kingdoms respectively, and the Third Intermediate Period follows the New Kingdom. It is from



Ramesses III presents captives to the god Amun; Medinet Habu temple, Thebes. (Photo: C Hope)

burials of rulers of this Third Intermediate Period that the objects which form the focus of the current exhibition derive, and a short history of which follows.

THE END OF THE NEW KINGDOM

The decline of the New Kingdom can be seen as the result of a combination of various factors and to have been a gradual process. The Libyan tribes who occupied areas to the west of the Delta and Saharan regions were regarded by the Egyptians as one of their major opponents. Despite victories over these people during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II of the XIXth dynasty, and the construction of a chain of fortresses out to el-Alamein by the latter, they continued to pose a threat to Egyptian security. They joined forces with the Sea Peoples who attacked from the north-east during the reigns of Ramesses II's successor Merenptah and Ramesses III of the XXth dynasty. These rulers succeded in warding off such hostilities. Ramesses III settled Libyan and other captives in the central and eastern Delta, many of whom were incorporated into the Egyptian army and aided with the defence of the eastern borders; in this he followed the practice of Ramesses II. However, this policy enabled the Libyans, especially those of the Meshwesh tribe, to establish power bases for themselves on Egyptian soil.

The influence of the central administration declined severely under the weak rulers of the late XIXth dynasty and the successors of Ramesses III. The kings, centred at the east Delta residence of Per-Ramesses, made fewer tours of inspection throughout the country and became ill-informed of the state of their realm, relying increasingly upon local officials. This enabled the latter to extend their

power considerably to the detriment of the central administration. A graphic illustration of this can be seen during the reign of Ramesses XI when the high priest of the god Amun, Amunhotep, had himself depicted on the same scale as the king in scenes decorating the temple of Karnak at Thebes. This broke with the age old artistic convention that the king must dominate any scene in which he was represented and illustrates the aspirations of the higher ranks of the clergy of that god.

Concomitant with this was a decline in national security, an increase in government corruption and failure of the economy. Grain, the basis of Egyptian economy, escalated in price and the administration was not always able to pay certain of its employees. Thus, the workmen who cut and decorated the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes were forced to protest arrears in payment and the first strikes in history are recorded. The royal dead themselves were threatened and during the reign of Ramesses IX the tomb robberies scandal broke, highlighting the inability of the administration to protect the tombs of the royal family and private persons and, furthermore, its involvement in such activity. Despite the appointment of various Royal Commissions to investigate the matter, the robberies continued unabated. In times of economic hardship the looting of the wealth interred with the dead offered one means of alleviating privation. In this same reign Thebes itself was threatened by bands of roaming Libyans and desert tribesmen. Disturbances continued into the reign of Ramesses XI when the high priest of Amun, Amunhotep, was deposed and war broke out. To solve the situation the king called upon his senior official in Nubia, Panehsy, no longer being capable of militarily intervention himself. Panehsy and his forces assumed control of Thebes, suppressing opposition in the name of the king but also extending his own sphere of influence. Eventually this situation itself became intolerable and it was necessary for Ramesses XI to resort to even more drastic measures.

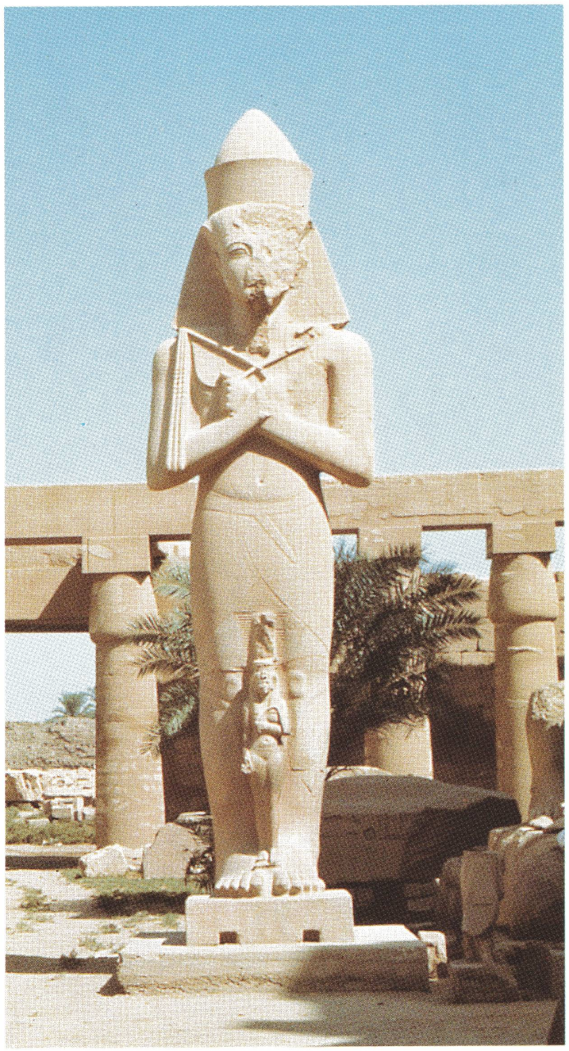
In year 19 of his reign, circa 1080 B.C., Ramesses XI called upon the assistance of Herihor to replace the disgraced Panehsy as ruler of the south. He was appointed leader of the army and governor of Nubia, as well as high priest of Amun, the first time this office had been coupled with the senior military position. In addition, he acquired the office of Vizier of the South, thus making him head of the administration also, his area of power extending north to el-Hibeh, south of the Fayum. It would appear probable that he was a soldier of Libyan descent. In the north Ramesses XI appointed Smendes as counterpart to Herihor. Smendes, who had close associations with the city of Mendes, was either a son or brother of Herihor and married to Tentamun, a daughter of the king. Ramesses XI, therewith, formally acknowledged the division of Egypt into separately administered regions, and reduced his own status to that of a mere shadow ruler. Year 19 inaugurated a new era of reform which was termed 'Renaissance' in Egyptian and by which events were dated. In year 7 of the Renaissance Herihor died and was succeeded by Piankh as high priest of Amun and leader of the army, positions which were to be retained by his family until the advent of the XXIInd dynasty.

The high priest of Amun, Amunhotep, and Ramesses XI; Karnak temple of Amun at Thebes. (Photo: C Hope)

THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

THE XXIst DYNASTY

On the death of Ramesses XI, Smendes was acknowledged as king throughout Egypt, becoming the first ruler of the XXIst dynasty. His capital was located at Tanis, the former harbour of Per-Ramesses, in the eastern Delta. He undoubtedly achieved this position with the support of the high priest of Amun at Thebes, Pinudjem I son of Piankh, in exchange for the guarantee that Pinudjem and his descendants would be undisputed rulers of the south. Pinudjem, like Smendes, was married to a daughter of Ramesses XI. This concord was to be reinforced by family alliances. Thus, on the death of Smendes' successor Amenemnisu, who was either his son or the son of Herihor, Pinudjem I's son Psusennes I succeeded as king. Again, at the end of the dynasty another of Pinudjem's descendants was able to claim the throne when king Siamun died without an heir. Two branches of the same family therefore held power in Egypt and coexisted in comparative harmony, despite the periodic claims to be recognised as kings in the south by the



Ramesside statue usurped by Pinudjem I in the XXIst dynasty; Karnak temple of Amun at Thebes. (Photo: C Hope)

high priests of Amun.

Little is known of the events of the time. Smendes and his wife set about establishing Amun as the principal god of Tanis, along with the cults of that god's wife, Mut, and their son Khons. One text describes them as 'the foundations whom Amun has given to the North of his land', implying that they were thought to rule on behalf of the god, much as the high priests were doing in the south. Smendes was probably buried at Tanis, though his tomb has not been identified with certainty. Following the brief reign of Amenemnisu, Psusennes I ascended the throne to rule for some forty-eight years. His name, which translates 'the Star which has arisen for Thebes', emphasises his Theban origin and the power of Amun, also reflected in the names of his successors. On two occasions Psusennes I prefixed his name with Ramesses, asserting his descent from the preceding dynasty through his mother. His son, Ankhefenmut, was also called Ramesses-Ankhefenmut. In addition to being king he was also high priest of Amun at Tanis. He constructed temples to Amun, Mut and Khons set within a massive girdle wall, making Tanis the 'Thebes of the North'. Building materials were taken from structures at nearby Per-Ramesses, now in decline, a practice to be continued throughout the dynasty and into the XXIInd dynasty. In reusing parts of monuments and statuary from that city, the names of earlier rulers, particularly Ramesses II, were not necessarily erased, as if in a deliberate attempt to associate them with the kings developing Tanis. Psusennes constructed a tomb for himself and his family not in a separate cemetery but in the south-west corner of the temple enclosure where it could be suitably guarded. This established a tradition to be maintained throughout the Third Intermediate Period and which was adopted not only by rulers but also high-ranking officials at several major centres. No doubt this was prompted by the desecration of royal and private tombs at the end of the XXth dynasty.

A leading official throughout the reign of Psusennes I was the military commander Wen-djeba-en-djed, a native of Busiris. As a mark of special favour a chamber for his burial was incorporated into the king's tomb.

Like the king, Wen-djeba-en-djed was laid to rest in a stone coffin which had been reused; it originated from one of the Theban cemeteries. From the tomb of king Merenptah in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, came the lid used for the outer sarcophagus in which the king's coffins were placed. Such objects became available for reuse as a result of the tomb robberies at the end of the New Kingdom.

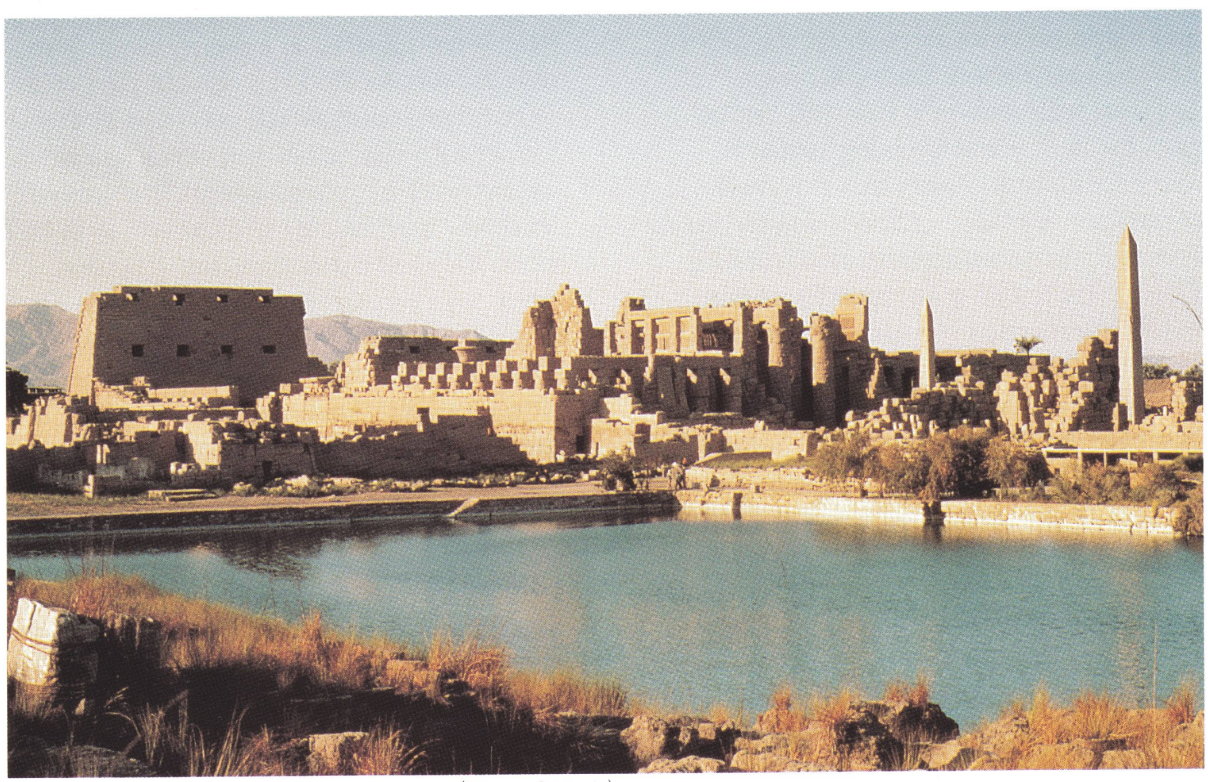
Following the brief reign of Amenemope, possibly a son of Psusennes I, the throne temporarily passed out of the family and Osorkon the Elder became king. Osorkon was a Libyan, the son of Shoshenq, Great Chief of the Ma — an abbreviation for Meshwesh — indicating the growing power of this tribe. Osorkon ruled for only six years and was succeeded by Siamun, whose parentage is uncertain. As a builder, Siamun rivalled Psusennes I in his additions to the temples at Tanis and also at Memphis, which continued as an important administrative and religious centre throughout the Third Intermediate Period. During his reign, Egyptian intervention in Palestine can be documented. It was probably under his immediate predecessors that the infant crown prince Hadad of Edom was forced to flee to Egypt to escape the wrath of King David. This prince grew up in Egypt and eventually married the sister of the queen of Egypt. On David's death Hadad returned to Edom to oppose Israelite rule. Siamun, however, established a pact with Solomon and gave him his daughter in marriage. As part of her dowry Siamun presented to Solomon the Philistine town of Gezer, which the Egyptians had attacked and destroyed. This is the only military campaign known during the XXIst dynasty and was aimed at securing Egyptian commercial interests in the region. The marriage of a daughter of the king of Egypt to a foreign ruler, no matter how powerful, would have been unthinkable during the New Kingdom.

In the south of the country the high priests of Amun made some additions to the temples at Karnak and fortified their northern bastion at el-Hibeh. Conflicts with the well-established Theban families occurred over the monopoly of the lucrative senior positions in Amun's clergy by the family of the high priest. This was eventually resolved by ceding to them the offices of second to fourth prophets, the high priest being first prophet. One of the major concerns of the high priests was to ensure the protection of the royal dead buried in the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens. Tombs were inspected and when found disturbed they were renewed or bodies reburied in groups. However, this proved insufficient and the last high priest of Pinudjem I's line decided to collect the remains of the royal ancestors and what was left of their funerary furniture and inter them together in a secret tomb. That selected was located in a remote part of the Theban necropolis which was used by the high priest's own family but which had been cut for a certain queen Inhapi. This proved successful and they lay undisturbed until 1875 when they were rediscovered. A second group was successfully concealed in the tomb of Amenophis II in the Valley of the Kings. The high priest in question was Psusennes who probably succeeded Siamun as king and became Psusennes II, the last ruler of the XXIst dynasty. During his reign the power of the Libyans in the Delta asserted itself. Shoshenq, Great Chief of the Ma at Bubastis, became the leading figure of the reign. This Shoshenq was nephew of Osorkon the Elder who ruled after Amenemope, and his son Osorkon married Psusennes II's daughter. Psusennes himself may have been married to

a sister of Osorkon the Elder. On Psusennes II's death Shoshenq ascended the throne without apparent opposition, inaugurating the XXIInd, Libyan, dynasty.

THE XXIInd DYNASTY

Shoshenq I was undoubtedly one of the most capable and ambitious rulers of the period. He determined to increase royal power and to eclipse that of the former high priests and clergy of Amun at Thebes. To achieve this he appointed one of his own sons as high priest, leader of the army and governor of the south, and secured other senior positions for allies of the new dynasty. He also began a series of marriage alliances between his family and the leading Theban families. Another of his sons was appointed army commander at Heracleopolis near the entrance to the Fayum, effectively ruling middle Egypt for the king. Shoshenq's policy seems to have been to rely upon close members of his family, whom he invested with military power, to support the central administration.
During his reign Egypt was more united than it had been during the XXIst dynasty.
Secure at home Shoshenq turned his attentions both north and south. He renewed trade networks with Nubia, though whether there was any military intervention is uncertain. Trade contacts were reopened with Byblos on the Phoenician coast to obtain Lebanese cedar and statues of the king were sent to the local ruler. This practice was continued by other members of the dynasty. Unlike Siamun, Shoshenq regarded Solomon and the kingdom of Israel as a threat to Egyptian commercial interests. He sheltered Solomon's rival Jeroboam, who on the former's death returned to oppose his son Rehoboam, resulting in the division of the monarchy. Not content with this



The ruined Karnak temple of Amun at Thebes. (Photo: C Hope)

Shoshenq, on the pretence of a border incident, invaded, overwhelming Judah and Israel, and in the fifth year of Rehoboam, circa 925 B.C., he sacked Jerusalem. He took the treasures of the first temple, amongst which were the gold shields made by Solomon.

At home Shoshenq I conducted an ambitious building programme. At the Theban temple of Amun at Karnak he constructed a peri-style court in front of pylon II, then the main entrance to the temple, which was the first major addition since the reign of Ramesses III. Beside the south entrance to this court, on the south side of pylon II, he carved formal scenes of his triumphs and offerings to the god. Tanis, which was maintained throughout the dynasty as capital, also witnessed a flurry of building activity as did the family's home town of Bubastis, centre of the worship of the lion-headed goddess Bast. As in the previous dynasty Per-Ramesses was used as a convenient source of building materials. After a reign of twenty-one years Shoshenq died and was possibly buried at Tanis, as were most members of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his son Osorkon I.

Osorkon followed his father's policy in securing the loyalty of the Theban priesthood. He appointed his son Shoshenq as high priest of Amun and confirmed Libyan protégés in other senior positions. Shoshenq was eventually to become co-regent with his father, as Shoshenq II, but predeceased him and was buried in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis. Osorkon I made large donations to the temples of Egypt, reflecting the improvement of the economy as a result of more efficient administration, trade and foreign conquests. His reign was followed by that of his son Takeloth I, the least attested of all of the Libyan dynasty, and subsequently that of his grandson Osorkon II. Breaking with dynastic tradition, Osorkon II did not appoint one of his own sons high priest of Amun at Thebes but Harsiese, son of Shoshenq II. Shoshenq II was a direct descendant of the old family of high priests of the XXIst dynasty, being the son of Psusennes II's daughter. This appointment marks the beginning of the weakening of royal control of the Theban clergy and hierarchy, and contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. Harsiese was to declare himself king in Thebes, and though he had no real power his act fostered notions of independence. Royal hold over middle Egypt was maintained by the appointment of one of Osorkon II's sons as governor at Heracleopolis, who was later to succeed Harsiese at Thebes, while another son was made high priest of the god Ptah at Memphis. Osorkon II was a prodigious builder, adding to the temples of Tanis and Bubastis, at the latter commemorating his jubilee celebrations with the erection of a festival court.

The remainder of the XXIInd dynasty is marked by the gradual decline of royal power and the emergence of a struggle for power throughout Egypt. Osorkon II was succeeded by his son Takeloth II. In the middle of his reign he appointed his eldest son, crown prince Osorkon, as high priest of Amun at Thebes. This appointment appears to have aroused opposition and in year 15 of the reign civil war broke out. For nearly ten years the crown prince struggled to assert himself over the Thebans. Despite attempts at conciliation the Thebans remained in opposition. Then on the death of his father Osorkon suffered a further blow, another Shoshenq, possibly a younger brother, took over the throne. This ruler, Shoshenq III, instead of confirming Osorkon in his position

Bust of Osorkon I from Byblos. (Courtesy of Musée du Louvre; Photo: H. Stierlin.)

of high priest, attempted to appease the Thebans by appointing a grandson of their former high priest Harsiese as high priest. This act ensured the continuation of conflict over possession of the primacy.

In year eight of his reign Shoshenq III had to face yet another more divisive challenge to his authority. One Petubast, who may have been his brother, claimed recognition as king and Shoshenq was forced to acknowledge the creation of a rival line of rulers. Thus the XXIIIrd dynasty came into existence with its centre at Leontopolis to the south-west of Tanis and not far from the family seat at Bubastis. From this point on the Thebans acknowledged only the rule of the XXIIIrd dynasty kings and the authority of the XXIInd dynasty was restricted to the Delta. It has been suggested that Shoshenq III actually created the XXIIIrd dynasty in an attempt to control the Thebans. Whatever the truth may be Egypt now had two kings both ruling from the Delta and further divisions were to follow.

THE LATE XXIInd DYNASTY TO THE XXVIth DYNASTY

Whether the XXIIIrd dynasty was created by the XXIInd or not, the two soon began to compete for domination of middle Egypt. Eventually the XXIIIrd dynasty succeeded in gaining a hold of the former XXIInd dynasty stronghold at Heracleopolis as well as establishing itself at Hermopolis. Collateral branches of the XXIIIrd dynasty were established at these centres, themselves eventually to claim independence. Meanwhile the XXIInd dynasty established as fiefs for its princes the rule of certain areas within the Delta, namely Athribis-with-Heliopolis in the south and Sais in the north-west. Coincident with these events various Libyan factions came to power within the Delta. In the extreme west the Great Chiefs of the Libu were gaining power while the Great Chiefs of the Ma were establishing themselves in the western Delta also. The latter eventually dominated Sais and under Tefnakht over-powered the Great Chief of the Libu to create a realm which extended across the entire western Delta down to Memphis.

While this struggle for power in the North proceeded, a new power emerged in the south. By the early ninth century B.C. a local kingdom had come into existence in the region of the fourth cataract of the Nile, in modern Sudan, with its capital at Napata. In the mid-eighth century its influence had extended to the borders of Egypt, when its rulership passed to Piankhy. This king became protector of Thebes and even extended his influence into middle Egypt. When Tefnakht of Sais attempted to extend his own power

into middle Egypt then confrontation became inevitable. The kings of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd dynasties played no part in the power struggle. Piankhy at the head of his forces marched north and took Memphis. The two kings of Egypt and the local princes submitted, as did Tefnakht. However, Piankhy withdrew soon after his victory leaving a power vacuum in Egypt. Tefnakht, not daunted by his recent defeat, claimed kingship, coeval with the final rulers of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd dynasties, to become the first king of the XXIVth dynasty. After eight years of reign he was followed on the throne by his son Bakenrenef. In the latter's sixth year Shabako, Piankhy's brother and successor, marched north and took all of Egypt overthrowing Bakenrenef, reaffirming the rule of his family, the XXVth dynasty. Shabako was followed by Shebitku, son of Piankhy, who launched Egypt into disastrous opposition to the rising power of Assyria which was asserting its dominance in Palestine.

In 671 B.C. the armies of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon defeated the Egyptians under Taharqa, brother and successor of Shebitku, forcing him to flee from Memphis. Esarhaddon's mighty successor Assurbanipal invaded Egypt in 667/6 B.C. forcing Taharqa to again flee to Thebes and gaining the submission of the local Egyptian dynasts, who had continued in power despite the XXVth dynasty's conquests. On Assyrian withdrawal the Egyptians intrigued with Taharqa but this was discovered and the Assyrians deported many of the culprits to Nineveh where they were executed, as were others in Egypt. However, Assurbanipal spared Necho, ruler of Sais and his son Psammetichus, whom he appointed as vassal rulers at Sais and Memphis, and Athribis respectively. In 664 B.C.

Scene from the Jubilee of Osorkon II from Bubastis. (Courtesy of Musée du Louvre; Photo: H. Stierlin.)

Taharqa was succeeded by Tantamani who invaded Egypt, stormed Memphis and attacked the Delta. Necho opposed him vigorously but was slain. Assurbanipal responded promptly, his forces invaded Egypt yet again, drove Tantamani from Memphis and pursued him to Thebes whence he fled to Napata. The Assyrians sacked Thebes of its centuries of accumulated wealth, the reverberations of which echoed around the ancient world.

Psammetichus, son of Necho, was appointed as Assyrian vassal at Sais, Athribis and Memphis, but despite their humiliation the Thebans under their mayor continued to date by the deposed XXVth dynasty. Psammetichus gradually extended his influence throughout the Delta, resisted at first by the scions of the XXIInd dynasty at Tanis and Bubastis, but by his 8th year overcoming even their opposition. In his ninth year he decreed that his daughter, Nitocris, would be adopted by the XXVth dynasty appointees as God's Wife of Amun at Thebes. This sacredotal position, occupied by a daughter of the reigning king, had, since the mid-eighth century when the power of the high priests had gone into decline, been the senior position in the Amun clergy at Thebes. By this act Psammetichus became effective ruler of all Egypt and from which point the XXVIth dynasty may be reckoned to have begun and the Third Intermediate Period ended.

Tanis and the Royal Tombs: Falcon Head of the Silver Coffin of Shoshenq II from Tanis.

TANIS
AND THE ROYAL TOMBS

The site of Tanis, modern San el-Hagar, is 130 kilometres north-east of Cairo and lies on the east bank of a secondary branch of the Nile. It is one of the largest and most imposing of all of the ancient sites in the Delta, covering an area of 177 hectares. Built upon two main 'turtle backs' it rises high above the alluvial plain, its northern part dominated by the ruins of once imposing temples.

The area in which its stands was known as 'the Plains of Djaou' from the Old Kingdom onwards. During the New Kingdom it was renowned for its fishing and fowling, also its gardens and agricultural yield. When Ramesses II built his Delta residence at Per-Ramesses one of its harbours was located some twenty kilometres to the north at Dja'net, whence the Greek name Tanis is derived. The branch of the Nile upon which this site is located was then much wider.

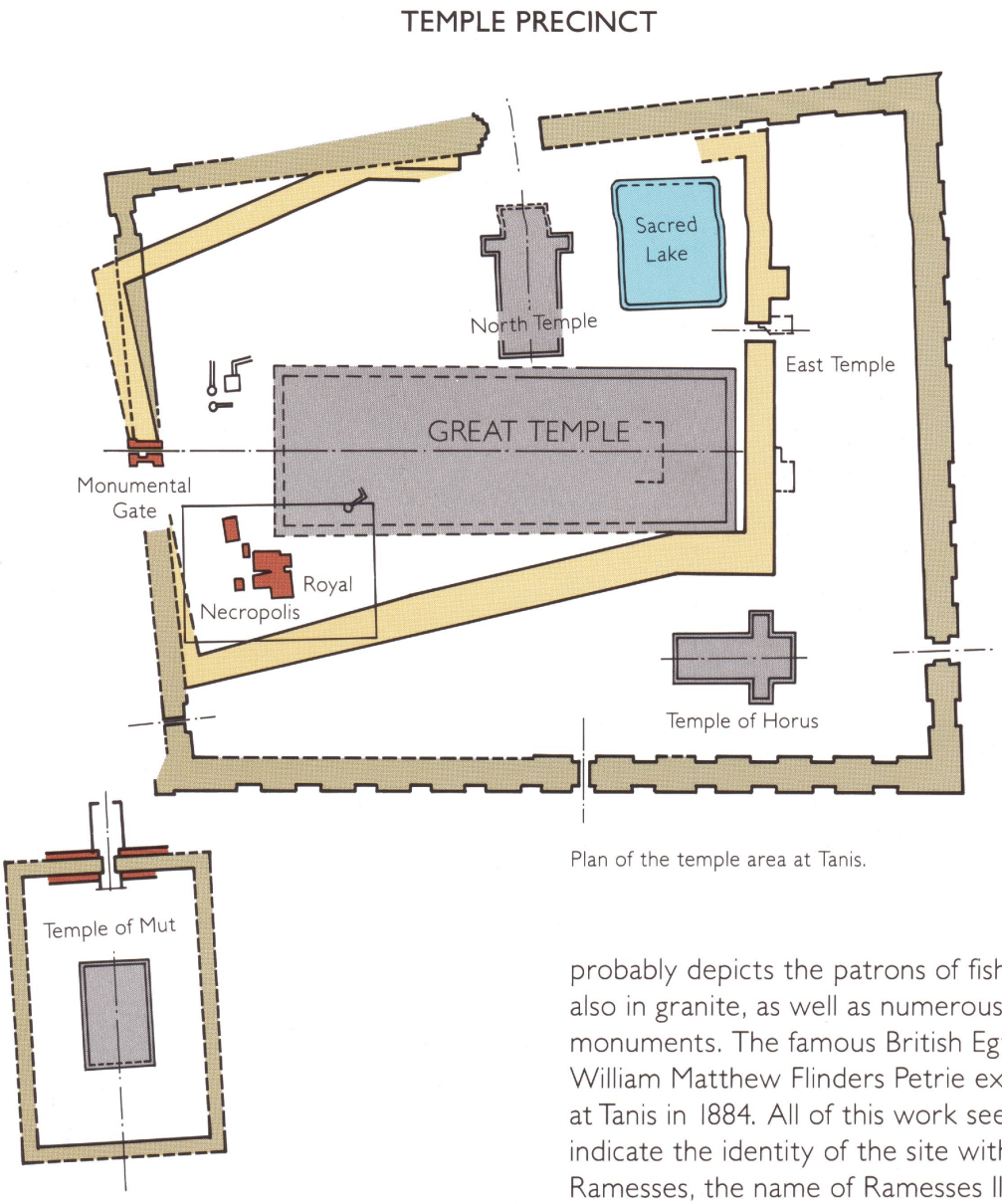
From its elevation to the rank of northern capital in the XXIst dynasty until the time of the Ptolemies, Tanis witnessed a prodigious urban development. While in the first century B.C. Strabo could describe it as a 'great city', by the first century A.D. its importance had declined. During the Roman rule of Egypt its canals were no longer cleared and the coastal mouth of this branch of the river blocked. The site suffered much destruction in Christian times and at the hands of medieval Arab rulers.

EXCAVATIONS AT TANIS

Tanis has attracted attention since the end of the eighteenth century when it became famed for the extent of its ruins, rivalling the great sites of Memphis and Thebes. It was visited by members of Napoleon's Egyptian Expedition who prepared a plan and some description of surface monuments, and it was

The ruined Amun temple at Tanis. (Photo: R Edwards)

'Plan of the ruins at San and its surroundings,' by Jacotin of the Napoleonic Expedition, 1800 (after *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiquités, vol. 5, pl. .28)



Plan of the temple area at Tanis.

identified as the city of the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Such was implied also by the writer of Psalm LXXVIII, versus twelve and forty-three of which locate the suffering of the people of God and miracles of Moses in 'the countryside of Tanis'.

Between 1801 and 1825 periodic excavations were conducted bringing to light sphinxes and royal statues. The great French Egyptologist, Auguste Mariette worked at the site on a large scale between 1860 and 1864, discovering a series of magnificent granite sphinxes and the unusual dyad which probably depicts the patrons of fishermen, also in granite, as well as numerous other monuments. The famous British Egyptologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie excavated at Tanis in 1884. All of this work seemed to indicate the identity of the site with Per-Ramesses, the name of Ramesses II occurring over and over again on sculpture and architectural fragments.

THE DISCOVERIES OF PIERRE MONTET

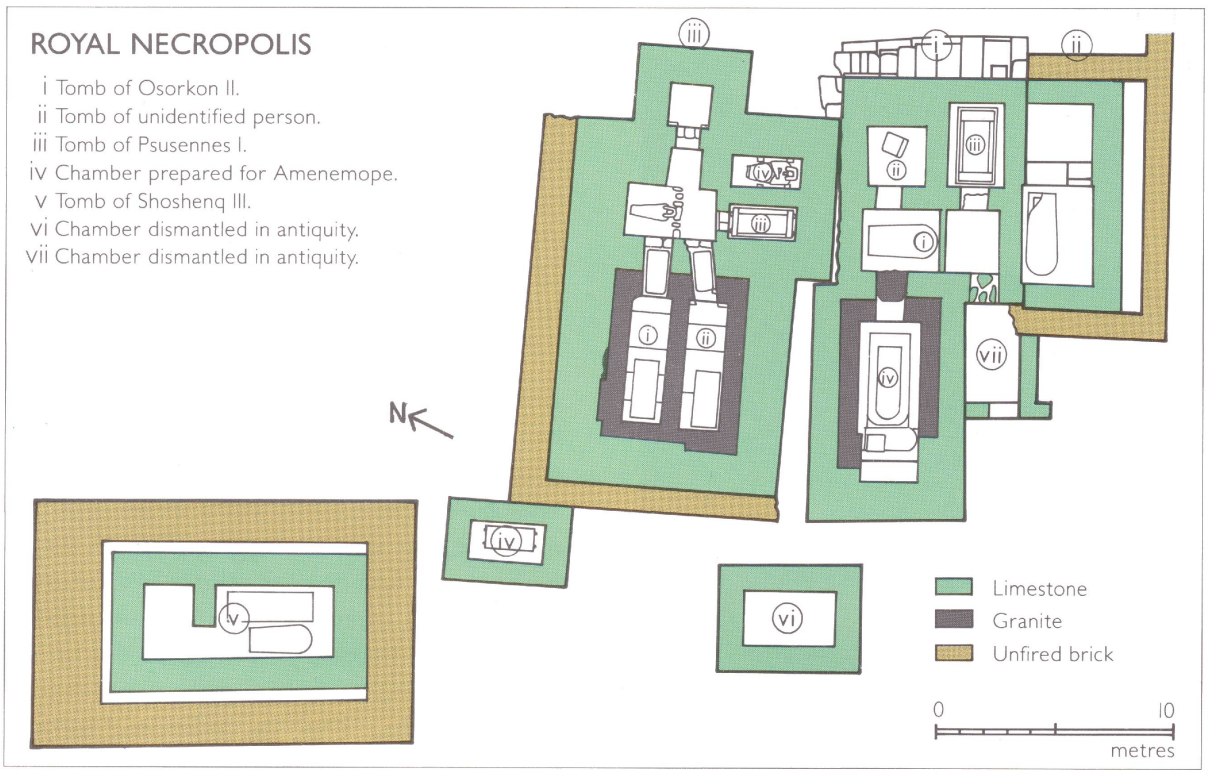
From 1921 to 1924 Pierre Montet excavated at the site of Byblos on the coast of Lebanon where he unearthed a wealth of information on the local rulers and their trade contacts with Egypt. On the completion of his work he decided to explore this contact further, but on Egyptian soil. His attentions turned to Tanis believing it to be Per-Ramesses which, as textual evidence showed, had been partly built on the site of Avaris, capital of the

Granite sphinx discovered by Mariette; originally of Middle Kingdom date it was reused several times before Psusennes I of the XXIst dynasty brought it to Tanis.

Hyksos rulers of the Second Intermediate Period.

Work commenced in 1928, and for the next decade Montet examined the northern part of the site with its monumental remains of the temples of Amun and his consort Mut, attesting extensive building activity throughout the first millennium B.C. While the equation of Tanis with Per-Ramesses became widely accepted, apparently supported by Montet's discoveries, excavations some twenty kilometres to the south at modern Qantir began to challenge this. In 1928 Mahmoud Hamza began several seasons of excavations and his finds seemed to indicate that here was Per-Ramesses. The correctness of this identification was finally shown in 1954 by Labib Habachi who proposed that the monuments of Ramesses II's capital had been moved wholesale to Tanis during the XXIst — XXIInd dynasties, thus creating the confusion. Recent work at Qantir and Tell Da'ba to its immediate south have confirmed their identification with Per-Ramesses and Avaris respectively.

During his 1939 season of excavations Montet transferred his attentions to an area in the south-west corner of the main temple enclosure where there was a series of large mud-brick structures. Digging through these he began to find objects clearly of a funerary nature and a limestone structure emerged. On the 27th February he entered this to find that it was the tomb of Osorkon II of the XXIInd dynasty, which he designated tomb I. It comprised four chambers containing several burials. The walls were decorated with fine, painted bas-reliefs showing the king's entry into the afterlife, his adoration of the gods and events in the continuous cycle of the journey of the sun-god through the land of the living, during the day, and the realm of the dead, during the night, in which the king would participate. In room 1, behind a wall decorated with a scene showing Osorkon II and one of his successors, Shoshenq III, worshipping a god, was an uninscribed granite sarcophagus containing only bones. Room 3 contained a magnificent sarcophagus of quartzite, originally of Middle Kingdom date but reused for the burial of Takeloth II, the son and successor of Osorkon II. The burial had been plundered but the chamber contained more than three hundred small funerary figures, or shabtis, mostly belonging to Takeloth; some belonged to other people. The names of Takeloth II and Osorkon I were found upon several small



Plan of the royal tombs at Tanis.

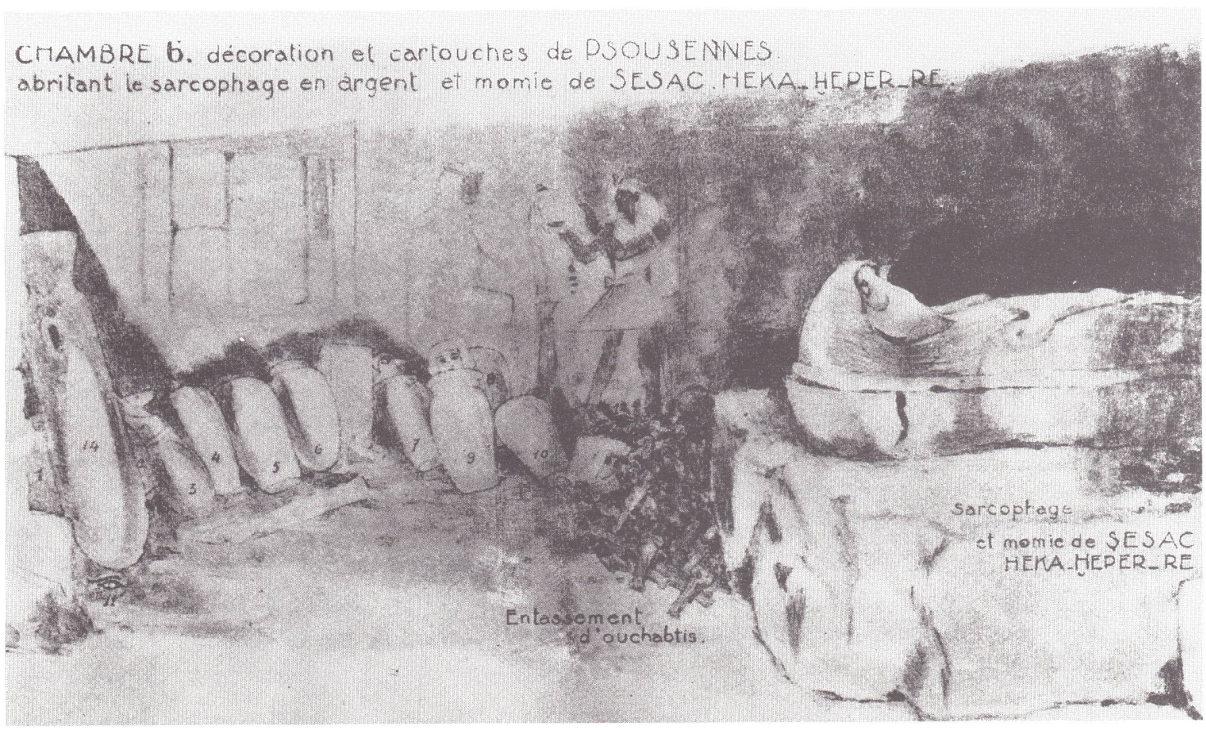
fragments of gold; a large alabaster jar was inscribed with the names of Osorkon I.

The entrance to chamber 4 was closed with a large block of granite but it was possible to see that beyond was a granite-lined room containing a massive granite sarcophagus. It was evident from the state of disarray which was discernible that robbers had been at work here also. Rather than dismantle the blocking, Montet and his team entered this chamber in the same way the robbers had done, through the roof. In addition to the granite sarcophagus which belonged to Osorkon II himself, there was a smaller one on its west with a quartzite lid carved into human form, inscriptions upon which identified its owner as prince Hornakht. Again, in excess of three hundred shabtis were found, belonging to Osorkon II and Prince Hornakht, whose canopic jars were also found. Neither of these sarcophagi was opened for further clearance of the mud-brick structures had revealed the existence of two other tombs, numbered II and III. One of these, number III to the north of the tomb of Osorkon, showed no signs of having been robbed.

On the 17th March Montet and his team cleared the entrance pit to tomb III of its rubble fill, opened the blocked doorway, entered a short corridor and then a small decorated room full of funerary objects. In a letter written the same day Montet described his arrival in that chamber as 'a journey of wonder befitting the One Thousand and One Nights'. The painted bas-reliefs on the walls identified the tomb as that of Psusennes I of the XXIst dynasty. Hundreds of shabtis lay on the floor with alabaster canopic jars, against the west wall

was a collection of bronze vessels and, on the right of the entrance was a silver coffin with a falcon's head between the disintegrated remains of two other coffins. This silver coffin was the first such to have been found in Egypt. Montet immediately doubled the security at the site, requesting an officer with soldiers to take guard, and informed the Egyptian authorities of his find.

On the 20th March King Farouk arrived in the company of Drioton, the head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, to be present at the opening of the silver coffin, which was done on the following day. As the lid was raised and the body of the dead king was revealed, under a gilded cartonnage with falcon's head and a gold face mask and bedecked with jewellery, it was realised that this was not Psusennes I but an unknown ruler with the name of Heqakheperre Shoshenq. We now identify this king as Shoshenq II, son and short-lived co-regent of Osorkon I of the XXIInd dynasty. The burial of Psusennes I, it was hoped, lay elsewhere in the tomb, probably in a chamber to the west of the antechamber. Montet's surprise at the contents of this tomb increased when he examined chamber 3 to the south. The walls carried bas-reliefs and inscriptions, and it was filled by a large empty sarcophagus, but the names and titles of its intended occupant had been erased.



Sketch of the contents of the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I's tomb, made on March 17th, 1939 by J.L. Fougerousse. (Photo: Archives Mission Montet)

The gold mask of Shoshenq II in situ.
(Photo: Archives Mission Montet)

Vulture collar and scarab pectoral in situ on the decomposed body of Shoshenq II. (Photo: Archives Mission Montet)

The antechamber was cleared of objects, and with the assistance of Guy Brunton, a curator at the Cairo Museum, and Alfred Lucas, the chemist, an inventory was made and basic conservation undertaken. The treasure of Shoshenq II was then transferred to the Cairo Museum on the 6th April. Little had remained from the two burials which flanked that of Shoshenq. The bodies had been reduced to mere skeletons by the moist atmosphere, as had that of Shoshenq himself. However, from the remains of gold foil which overlay them Montet determined that they had originally possessed gilded wooden coffins to which were attached human faces. The burial on the right had been within two such coffins, one inside the other. They had clearly been royal burials.

Despite the outbreak of the Second World War on the 1st September 1939, Montet was back at Tanis in mid-January 1940. Work commenced with the clearing of the main burial chamber in the tomb of Osorkon II. The lid of the sarcophagus of Hornakht had been too large for insertion into the tomb and its foot end had been cut away. Although the robbers had penetrated the interior they had not removed the lid. Thus, while an original silver coffin and the gold mask had mostly gone, most of the body adornments remained. The sarcophagus of Osorkon II was then opened to reveal the remains of three bodies. Hardly anything of their funerary equipment remained, but from the scraps of gold Montet determined that there had been at least one gilded wooden coffin and an inner case with a falcon's head, a clear indication that a king had been buried here.

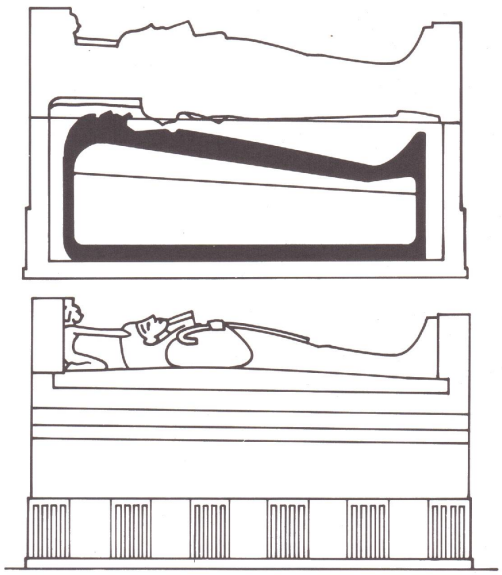
Excavation in the vicinity continued and other tombs were located. Abutting the

The Sarcophaigi of Wen-djeba-en-djed (left) and Hornakht (right). (Photo: R Edwards)

north-west corner of the tomb of Psusennes I was found tomb IV, built by his successor Amenemope, and further to the north-west, tomb V, built by Shoshenq III of the XXIInd dynasty. While these preserved sarcophagi and their wall reliefs, there was little else. This was also the case with tomb II to the south of that of Osorkon II, though here Montet found fragments from two gilded wooden coffins and one of silver. A further tomb, VI, to the west of tomb I had been dismantled in antiquity. However, the major finds of the season were to be made in the tomb of Psusennes I, number III.

When clearing the antechamber of this tomb, Montet had noted that the west wall was pierced by two doorways which had been blocked. He dismantled that of the northernmost of these to find a corridor filled by a large granite block, which allowed just enough space for him to see beyond using an electric torch. In his own words: 'The space is very narrow (....) but (I) am certain that there are many things which I have not discovered in all my years as an excavator'. Within six days he had removed the granite block, entered the chamber

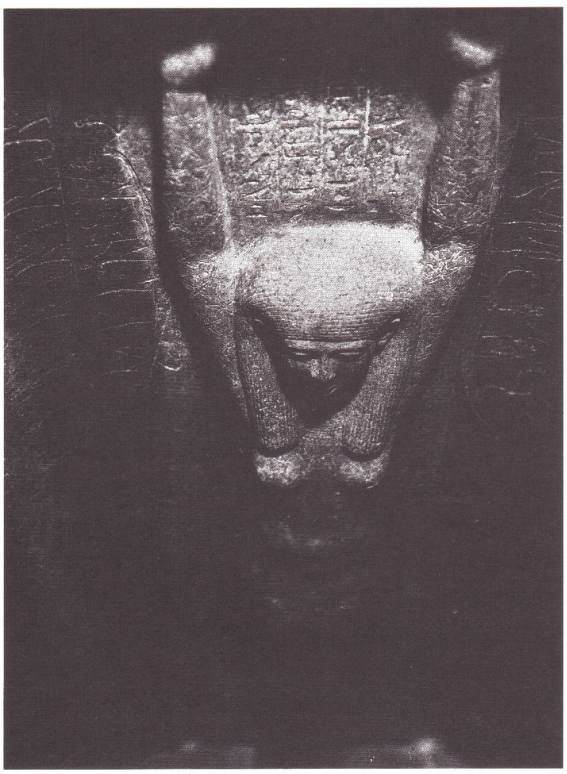
beyond, number 1, and found the canopic jars, shabti figures and vessels of gold and silver which lay around the sarcophagus occupying the rear of the chamber. On the 21st February he raised the massive pink granite lid of the sarcophagus, with a sculptured figure of a king identified with Osiris, god of the dead, on the top, to reveal a figure of the sky goddess, Nut, carved on the underside. Within lay a black granite, anthropoid coffin and within this a solid silver coffin. The body of king Psusennes I lay within this, beneath a layer and face mask of gold and upon a sheet of silver, richly adorned with a superb collection of jewellery and amulets. Between 23rd February and 7th March these were removed; on 16th April King Farouk returned to see the discoveries. The king persuaded Montet to open the second chamber opening off the ante-chamber. The door blocking, decorated with



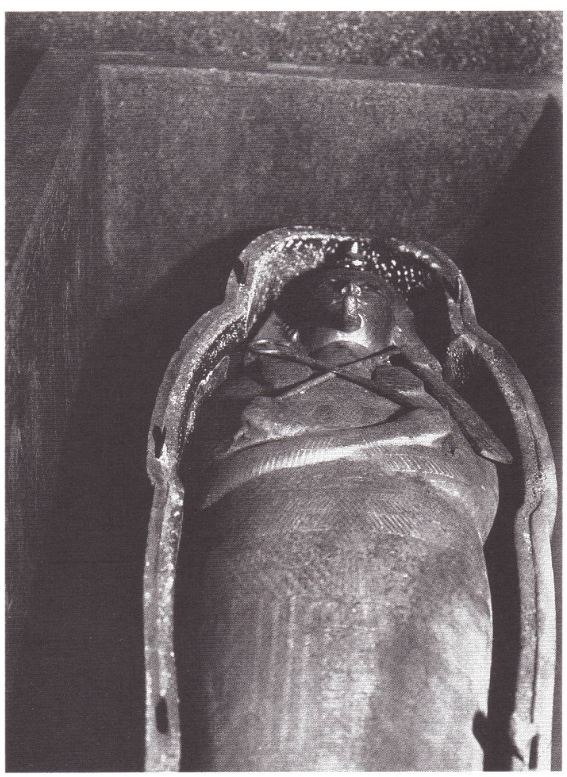
The black granite sarcophagus within the pink granite sarcophagus. (Drawing by A L Lézine)

Burial of Amenemope at the time of discovery. (Photo: Archives Mission Montet)

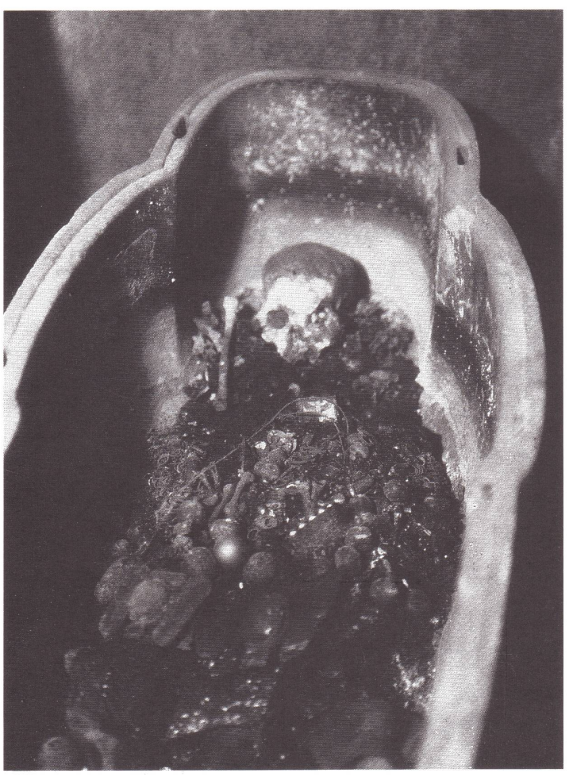
Lid of the outer pink granite sarcophagus of Psusennes I.



Underside of the outer sarcophagus lid with a figure of the sky-goddess Nut.



The silver coffin of Psusennes I within its two sacophagi.



The decomposed body of Psusennes I.
(Photos: Archives Mission Montet)

a scene of Psusennes I's son Amenemope before Osiris and his wife Isis, was removed to reveal another granite block filling a small corridor. This removed, they entered the chamber, number 2, to find the intact burial of king Amenemope within the sarcophagus and a gilded wooden coffin. Although less well-equipped than Psusennes I, another gold mask was found as well as a beautiful collection of jewellery and vessels of gold and silver.

The hostilities of the war prevented Montet from returning to Tanis for several years after these discoveries. In 1945 the sarcophagus of Psusennes I was removed from the tomb and examination of chamber 2 and its sarcophagus revealed that it had been prepared originally for queen Mutnodjmet, the wife of Psusennes. Further examination of chamber 3 showed it to have been prepared for their son Ankhefenmut, but never used. In 1946 Montet's architect, Lézine, suggested that the south-east corner of the tomb might contain another chamber. Following up this proposition Montet found yet another intact burial, that of a general of Psusennes I named Wen-djeba-en-djed. The name of this person had been found upon shabti figures in the antechamber. The chamber, number 4, decorated for the general, contained an anthropoid granite sarcophagus, within which was a gilded wooden coffin, remains of a silver coffin and a superb gold face mask. Amongst the funerary equipment were gold and silver vessels and admirable jewellery, rivalling that of Psusennes.

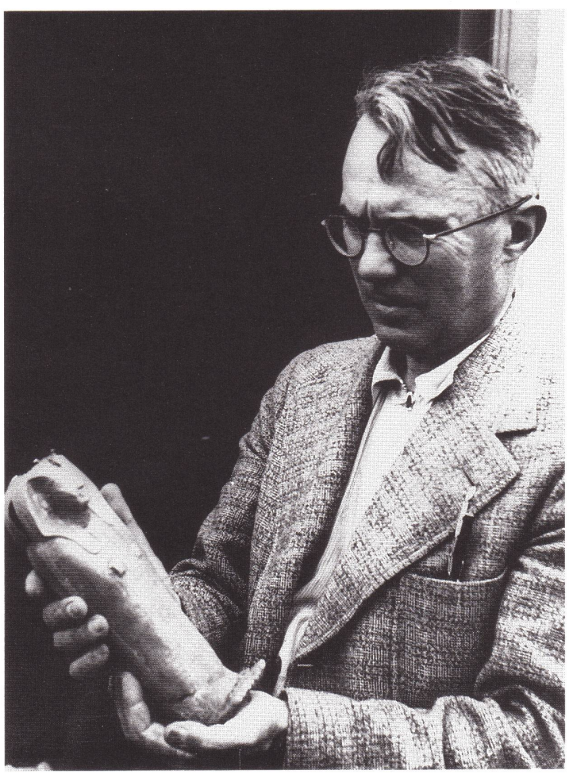
Work continued at the site until 1951, during the course of which Montet discovered the remains of a temple dedicated to Khons, the moon god and son of Amun, on the north of the temple of Amun. This had been constructed by Psusennes I and substantially altered in the XXXth dynasty. Another construction found during this period dating to the latter dynasty was a temple to Horus, Lord of Mesen, on the south-east of the Amun temple. Montet also investigated the sacred lake to the east of the Khons temple, the structure of which contained numerous blocks dating from the XIXth dynasty to the XXVIth dynasty.

Amongst all of his finds, the discovery of the royal tombs at Tanis was to remain his most spectacular. Rivalled only by the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun by Howard Carter, these tombs provided a clear indication of the riches thought suitable for inclusion with the burial of a king of Egypt. Dating to a period when the monarchy was no longer all-powerful, they showed that the kings in the north had at their disposal considerable wealth and could call upon craftsmen of great ability. The collection of vessels of precious metals he unearthed has

Top of an obelisk of Ramesses II reused at Tanis. (Photo: R Edwards)

Ramesses II offering wine to Re-Horakhty upon a block reused at Tanis. (Photo: R Edwards)

no equal and the frequent use of silver, was quite unexpected. The finds brought to light the tradition of burial within coffins with falcon heads during the period. The falcon was sacred to the god Horus, patron of Egyptian kingship and son of Osiris, and also represented the god Sokar, a god of the dead revered particularly in the region of Memphis. The use of a falcon head upon coffins symbolised the kings identity with these gods. The themes of the wall reliefs within the tombs indicated the continuation of New Kingdom aspirations for the royal afterlife. However, the small size of the tombs surely implies a reduction in the status of kingship and its ability to manipulate the wealth of the realm, as well as a decrease in the latter. Typical of the period, nearly all of the stone sarcophagi found in the tombs were reused or cut from previously prepared blocks derived from architectural contexts.



Pierre Montet with one of the silver canopic coffins of Shosheng II, 20 March 1939 (Photo: Archives Mission Montet)

Overshadowed by the Second World War, Montet's discoveries are only now achieving the popular recognition they so justly deserve.

RECENT WORK

Investigations at the site of Tanis resumed in 1964 under the direction of Jean Yoyotte. An integral part of the recent work has been the detailed re-examination of Montet's earlier finds and archival material. Study of the blocks from the sacred lake has continued and further excavation in that region has been conducted. Attention has been focused upon the less monumental remains of the temple enclosures, the evidence pertaining to daily life, the activities of the craftsmen and the numerous objects reflecting personal piety. Between 1984 and 1985 a detailed plan of the site was prepared. The modern techniques of detailed, stratigraphic excavation and analysis are being applied to the site. Since 1984 Philippe Brissaud has conducted excavations in the area of the royal tombs with the aim of documenting in detail the development of the region. In addition to yielding the existence of a seventh tomb abutting the entrance to the tomb of Osorkon II, this has revealed that the history of the necropolis is far more elaborate than Montet imagined. Tomb II can be shown to have been altered at least twice, while tomb I, that finally used by Osorkon II, was altered on several occasions. Study of the objects from this tomb and that of Psusennes I by Yoyotte clearly shows that they were both used for the interment of several royal persons and high-ranking officials. The two burials which flanked that of Shoshenq II in the tomb of Psusennes I may be identified as those of the last kings of the XXIst dynasty, Siamun and Psusennes II. Some of the mud-brick structures which Montet found overlying the tombs have been identified as a large development of the reign of Shoshenq III and the existence of chapels, in which offerings were made to those buried below, may be indicated. In the region to the north of the royal tombs, and in front of the entrance to the temple of Amun, other tombs may have been located. It has been shown that monumental construction at the site commenced only in the XXIst dynasty, prior to which the northern part of the site had been used as a cemetery by the poorer inhabitants of the harbour of Per-Ramesses.

Excavation at this important site continues to the present. Attention has been turned to its southern sectors where the possible existence of other temples has been indicated. Vast areas of the town site await exploration, and while discoveries may be of a more prosaic nature relating to the domestic environment of the ancient inhabitants, the site undoubtedly has much of great value yet to yield on life in ancient Egypt in a major metropolis.

Mortuary Beliefs: Detail of the Sarcophagus of Hornakht from Tanis. (Photo: R Edwards)

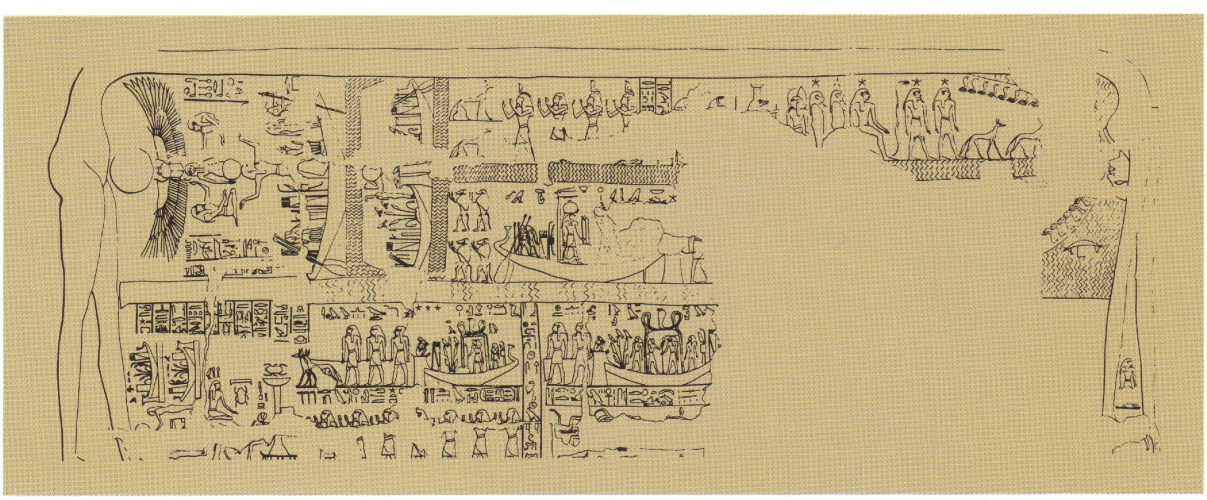
MORTUARY BELIEFS AND BURIAL PRACTICES

MORTUARY BELIEFS

The ancient Egyptians hoped for a long and enjoyable life on the banks of the river Nile in a land they believed was favoured by the gods, which they called 'the Beloved Land' or 'the Black (i.e., fertile) Land'. They did not look forward to death, which they feared and strove to overcome, but facing the inevitable they determined to prepare themselves to the best of their ability for their journey into the afterlife.

It is apparent that long before the unification of Egypt into a single realm, during the Predynastic Period, the Egyptians had a belief in life after death. The dead were buried in graves in a crouched or foetal position as if awaiting a second birth, accompanied by objects of daily life, including pottery vessels for the storage and consumption of food. By the time of the first kings of Egypt tomb architecture had become very elaborate and large numbers of objects were being buried with the royal dead and high officials of state. A study of tomb architecture and references in later texts indicates a belief in an astral existence for the royal dead: they were to ascend into the sky and join the stars, particularly the northern circumpolar stars which never set and were called 'the Unwearying Ones'.

During the Old Kingdom the cult of the sun-god Re, centred at Heliopolis, emerged to dominate Egyptian religious beliefs. The king was henceforth regarded as the son of the sun-god and on his death he was united with his father. He would join Re and sail across the heavens in the solar barque in the company of the gods, illuminating and bringing life to the living during the day and at night, in the underworld, performing the same for the dead and destroying the powers of evil. As Re was thought to die with the setting of the sun, to be reborn triumphant over death and evil each morning at sunrise, so the king would share in this eternal cycle of life and death. This belief was reserved exclusively for the king. From the Vth dynasty onwards, to ensure his participation, the walls of his burial chambers were inscribed with a collection of magical spells, the Pyramid Texts, giving him power to overcome all opposition. Other Egyptians would gain entry into the afterlife through association with the king, by having served in

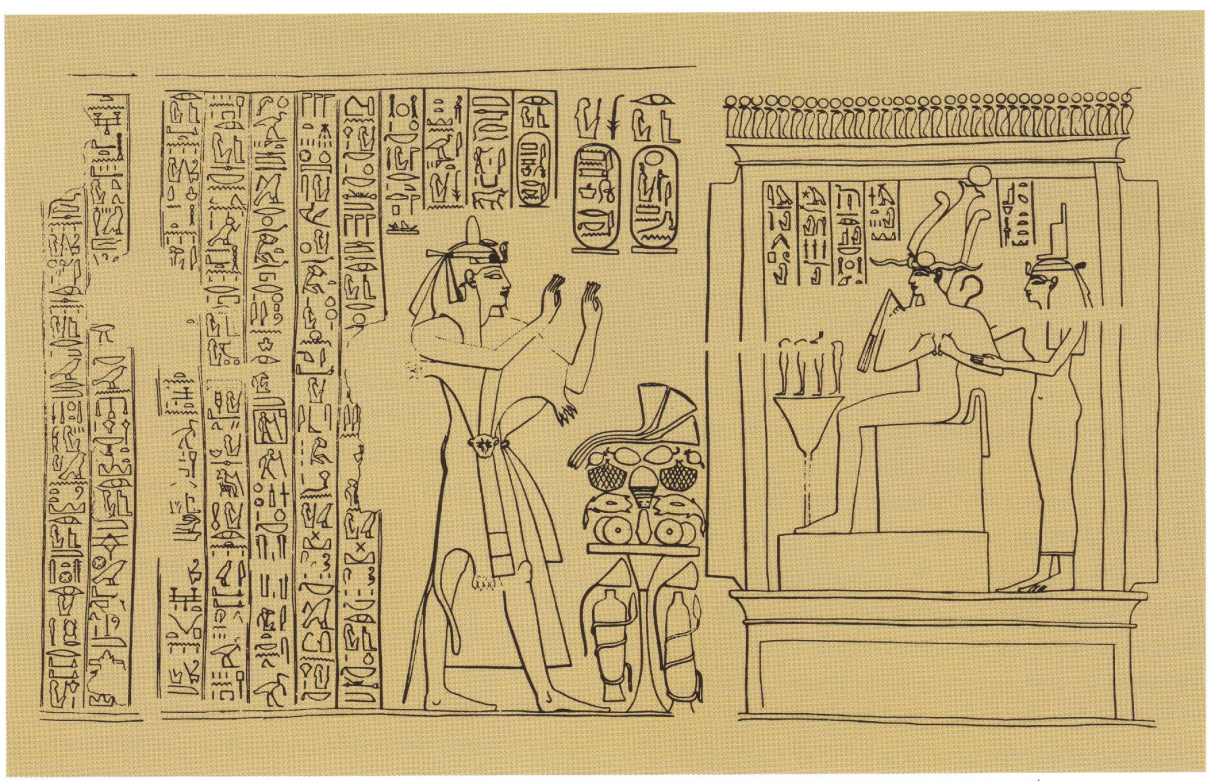


Journey of the sun, tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis (after Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis* I, pl. XXV).

his administration or by having been good law-abiding citizens, obedient servants of the god-king and the other gods. Their afterlife would resemble that on earth, but taken to the limits of their expectations within a highly structured society.

In the Pyramid Texts we encounter the god Osiris, originally associated with the power of growth from within the soil, he was to become *the* god of the dead. Myths surrounding this god tell of his rule over Egypt as king and murder by his jealous brother Seth. One version of this, recorded by Plutarch, recounts how Seth trapped Osiris in a large chest which he cast out to sea — this being done via the Tanis branch of the Nile. The slain Osiris was brought back to life through the ministrations of his wife Isis, the great magician, and granted rule over the kingdom of the dead by the gods. Osiris offered all mankind the possibility of sharing in his resurrection and his worship was to gain great popularity during the First Intermediate Period, maintaining its hold throughout the remainder of ancient Egyptian history. His major cult centres were at Abydos in Upper Egypt and Busiris in the Delta.

However, it was not sufficient for the Egyptians to simply believe in Osiris to gain entry into his eternal kingdom, they must be deserving. It was necessary for the deceased to prove that he/she had committed no crimes during life but upheld all of the laws of the land. Thus, on death, the Egyptian was taken into the judgement hall of Osiris to make a pronouncement of innocence to the forty-two assessors, including the great gods of Egypt, each of whom must be named and addressed individually. To confirm the truth



Osorkon II worshipping Osiris; Tomb of Osorkon II, Tanis (after Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis* I, pl. XXXI).

of this the heart was weighed in a balance against a feather, the symbol of Maat, goddess of order. The heart, for the Egyptians the centre of intelligence, preserved a record of the deceased's life. If it was heavier than the feather, which would result if wrongdoing had been committed, then it was thrown to the Devourer of the Dead, a composite creature, and all expectation of an afterlife would vanish. However, in all representations of this scene which are preserved, the deceased is shown victorious, and after presentation to Osiris is granted entry to the afterlife and the Field of Reeds. Assisting at the weighing of the heart is Anubis, the jackal-headed patron of embalmers and guardian of cemeteries, while ibis-headed Thoth, god of wisdom and divine scribe, records the proceedings. Horus, son of Osiris, escorts the deceased.

While the cult of Osiris dominated private funerary beliefs and the king himself on death was to be identified with that god, royal funerary beliefs always remained strongly solar influenced. By the Middle Kingdom aspects of the latter were taken over by private individuals. Osiris was to be identified with other gods connected with the afterlife, foremost amongst whom were Sokar and Ptah revered at Memphis. From their union emerged the composite deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

According to Egyptian belief there were two principal spiritual manifestations by means of which the deceased participated in the afterlife: the *Ka* and the *Ba*. The former may be identified as the 'self' or life force, distinct from the physical body. It came into existence at birth, dwelt with man during life and was set free on death. The Egyptians desired to be reuinted with their *Ka* in the afterlife; for its continued existence it required the preservation of the body and food offerings. The *Ba*, which equates with the modern notion of 'soul', was also liberated at death, and is usually represented as a human-headed bird. It left the tomb during the day to revisit the land of the living, but returned each evening to the body. The king and the gods possessed several *Kas* and *Bas*, all others only one.

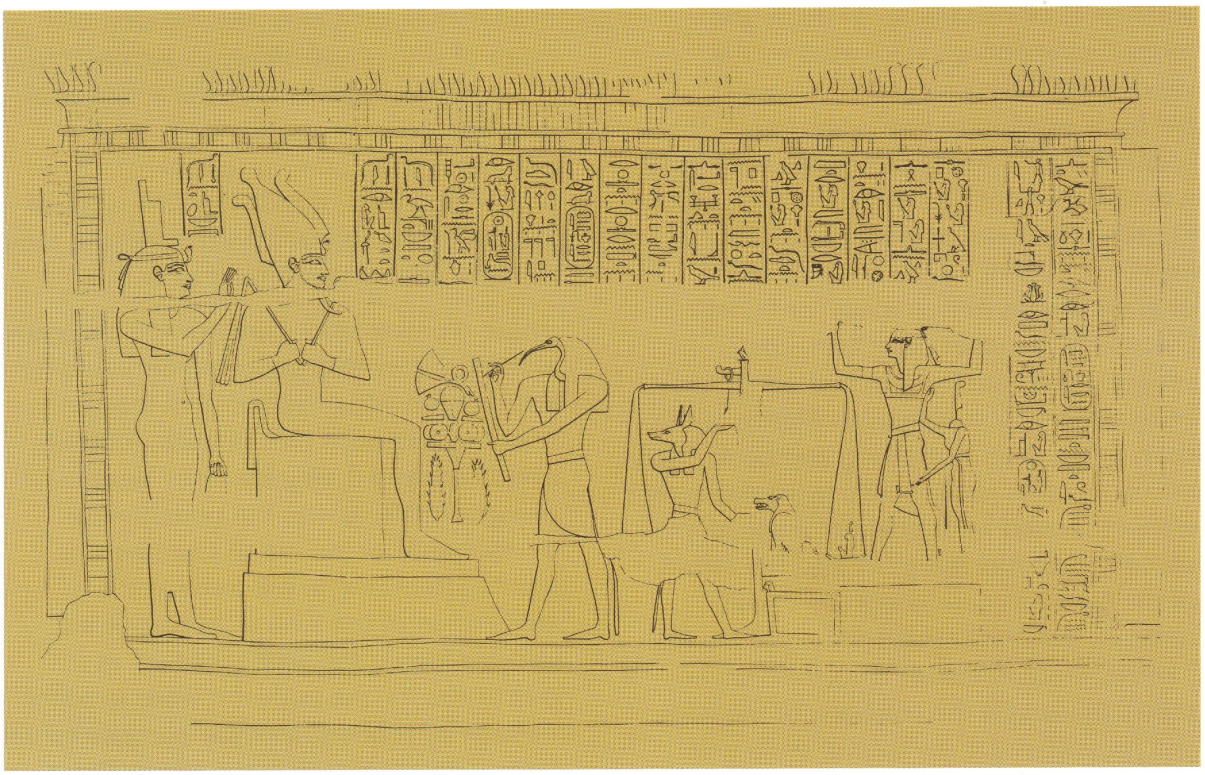
To ensure the continued existence of these two forms, and enjoyment of the afterlife, it was necessary to provide them with a home for eternity and to preserve the body. They must be provided with sustenance.

In addition it was essential that the name of the deceased should be preserved on earth, for if this was forgotten or erased then a second death would occur resulting in total annihilation.

BURIAL PRACTICES

Egyptian burial practices aimed at providing every possible assistance to the deceased for continued well-being in the afterlife. Details varied from period to period and the short account which follows will focus upon the practices of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Within all periods degrees of elaboration are encountered according to the wealth of the individual and his/her family.

Central to continued existence after death was the preservation of the body. For its survival in the tomb or grave the body must be completely dehydrated, it must be mummified as it is commonly termed. Several types of mummification were practised which varied considerably in effectiveness, the technique to be adopted by the professional embalmers depending upon the level of payment. To be most effective the liver, lungs, intestines and stomach should be removed, normally through an incision made



The weighing of the heart, tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis (after Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis*, I, pl. XXVI).

in the left side of the abdomen, while the brain was drawn out through the nostrils. The latter was discarded while the others were kept and dried out. The heart was normally left in the body. The body was then dried out thoroughly using dry natron, cleaned and anointed, the abdominal incision sewn up and the whole carefully wrapped in linen bandages. The body cavity might be packed to present a lifelike appearance; in the Third Intermediate Period the internal organs were often wrapped and returned to the body. Otherwise, they were placed within special jars, termed canopic jars, to be interred with the body. The jars were each protected by one of the four sons of Horus. The process of mummification might also be interpreted as making the deceased into an Osiris, who is always represented mummiform, and over whose body such rites were performed by Isis.

Amulets possessing magical power and figures of the gods were included amongst the bandaging to ward off evil. Of these two were of particular importance. The first was a representation of the eye of Horus which had the power to make the body whole and which was placed over the incision in the abdomen. Over the heart was placed the second, an amulet of the scarab beetle, a symbol of the rising sun, on the underside of which was inscribed the wish that the heart remain with the deceased in the afterlife and not oppose him/her on the day of judgement. Jewellery, also with amuletic power, might adorn the body which was then placed within a coffin.

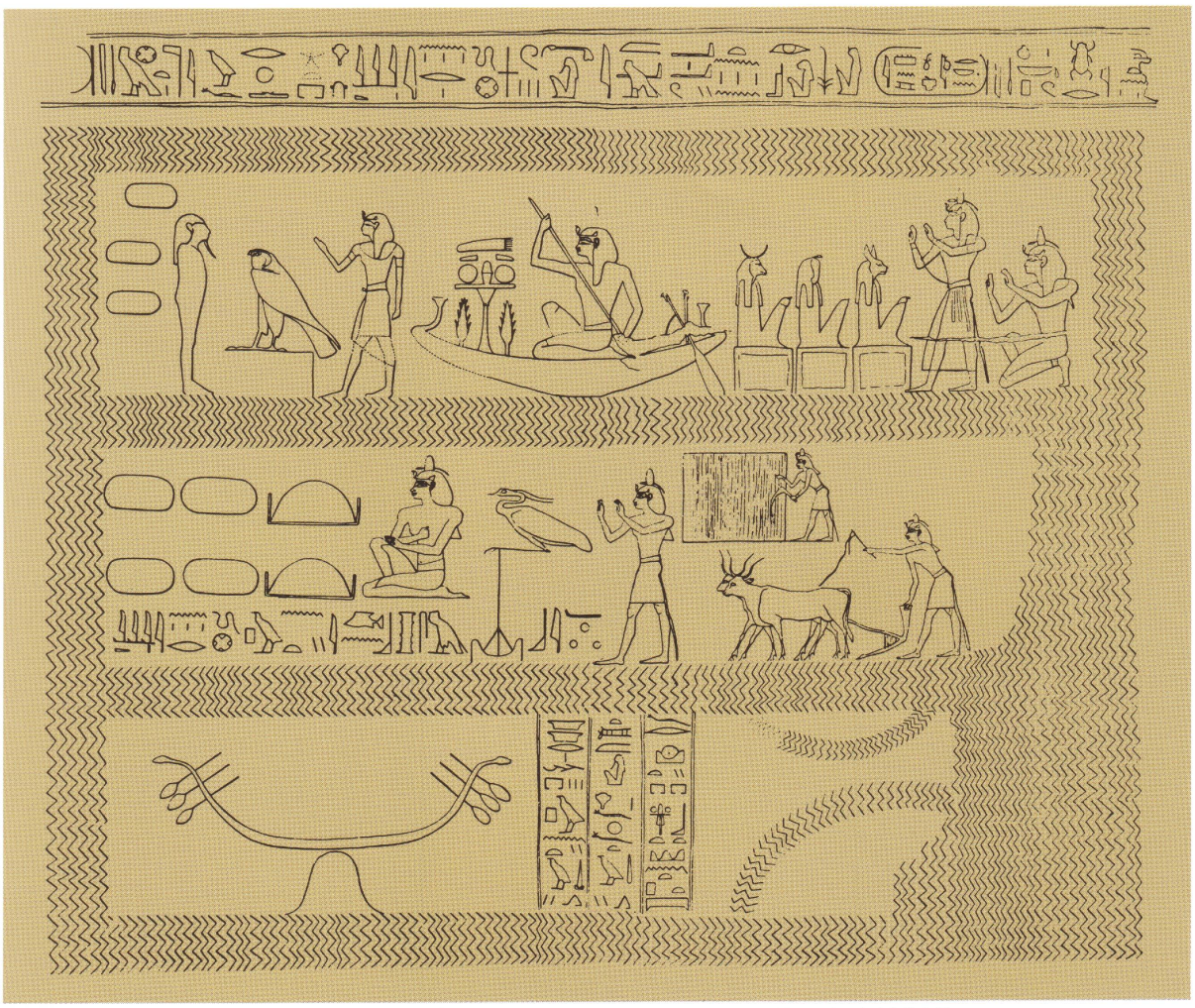
Coffins were normally anthropoid in shape, made of wood and elaborately decorated; several might be used. Rectangular outer coffins were also employed. Stone coffins,

anthropoid or rectangular in shape and termed sarchophogi, were used by the wealthy. Within such protective casings the body was laid to rest in the tomb. The traditional time allotted from death to burial was seventy days. The tomb or 'Mansion of Eternity' had been prepared in advance. It might comprise a simple burial chamber or grave always subterranean, or burial chamber with upper compartments, variously decorated in which offerings could be made for the continued existence of the dead. In the case of the king, and occasionally members of his family, these two components were separated, with offerings made at a specially built mortuary temple. The tombs of the New Kingdom rulers were multi-roomed, elaborate structures located within Thebes, modern Luxor. Their decoration shows the king in the company of the gods and participating in his solar afterlife with extracts depicted from such funerary compositions as the Book-of-What-is-in-the-Underworld, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns and the Book of Night, all destined to assist him in the afterlife.

Within private tombs the walls were decorated with quite different scenes. The funeral of the deceased might be shown or the weighing of the heart and the confession before the gods, successfully completed, which would help this eventuate. The latter events are taken from what is termed the Book of the Dead, more properly called the Book-of-Coming-Forth-by-Day. During the New Kingdom it became common for sections of this composition to be written and illustrated upon papyrus rolls which were included in the tomb, again to assist the deceased in the afterlife. They might be placed within the coffin or, at a later date, within figures of the composite god of the dead Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the inclusion of a figure of whom was thought advantageous. Other scenes representing the activities of daily life occur commonly. They figure banquet scenes, other amusements, preparation of food and wine, the work of the craftsmen, official activities and the tomb owner is shown alive amidst all of this.

These representations are not idle decorative elements, they help equip the deceased for eternity, providing him/her with food and ensuring continued participation in those events enjoyed during life. They were brought to life, as was the body, by the performance of the rite of Opening the Mouth celebrated in the tomb as the culmination of the funeral. Images of the deceased upon the walls could act as substitutes for the body if it were to suffer damage by robbers, a similar purpose served by any statues placed in the tomb. These were clearly labelled with the name of the tomb owner, as were most representations of people, ensuring their individual identity. Such would help preserve the name as did inscriptions carved on the tomb walls. Food offerings were placed in the tomb at the time of burial and this was to be continued thereafter. Were these to cease the recitation of an offering formula would summon forth the necessary provisions to enable continued existence, such was the belief in the power of the spoken word. The mere pronouncement of the dead person's name helped him/her to live forever.

A wide variety of objects were placed within the tomb to be used in the hereafter. These might be specifically funerary or drawn from daily life, all of which could be of use in making life after death more enjoyable. One important inclusion was the shabti figure. As in life, the deceased might be called upon to



The Fields of Iaru, tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis (after Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis*, I, pl. XXXVI).

perform manual labour after death, especially of an agricultural nature. These figures were included amongst the burial equipment to act as substitutes in this eventuality, as they were impelled to do by the inscription written upon them. Originally provided singly, it became standard to include one for each day of the year with overseer–figures to supervise the gangs into which the shabtis were divided. The worker figures are represented as mummiform equipped with hoes, picks and baskets, while the overseers are shown wearing kilts and carrying whips.

The most elaborate versions of these burial practices are encountered within the tombs of the kings. Exceedingly few have been preserved for us, being the main attraction for tomb robbers and making the risk of eternal damnation worthwhile. The allure which made them prepared to risk this is clearly indicated by the objects displayed in the present exhibition.

ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT

THE CATALOGUE

Unless otherwise stated, all objects on display are from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
The following abbreviations have been used for that museum's numbering systems:
CG: Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes JE: Journal d'Entrée TR: Temporary Register

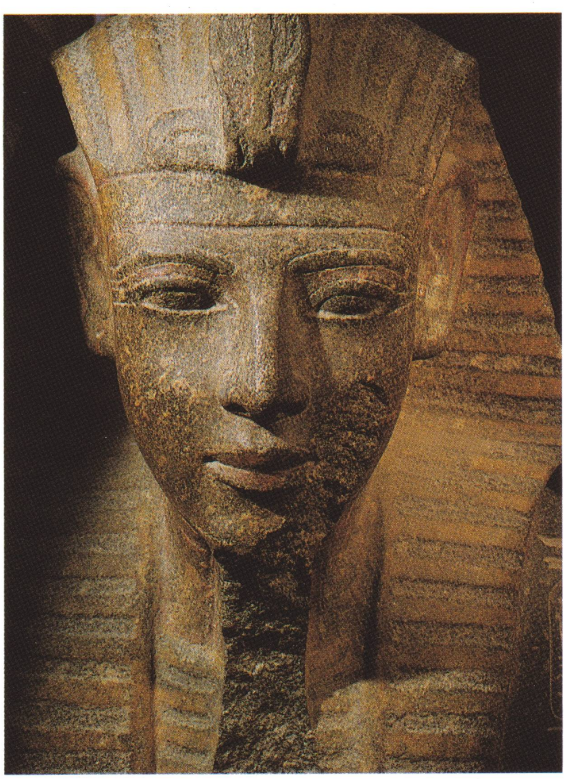
1
BUST OF KING MERENPTAH

Grey Granite painted in polychrome
Height: 91 cm
Thebes, mortuary temple of Merenptah
New Kingdom, XIXth dynasty, reign of Merenptah, 1214-1204 B.C.
JE 31414

Merenptah was the thirteenth son and successor of Ramesses II. Although he ascended the throne aged approximately sixty, as his mummy indicates, and ruled for ten years, according to Egyptian convention he is shown in this piece as a young man in his prime. It is an idealised, tranquil portrait of the classic image of enduring kingship.

The king's face is framed by the *nemes* headcloth, its two lappets falling from behind the ears over his shoulders and the full back section caught into a "pigtail" at the nape of the neck. Its alternate stripes are coloured yellow and blue in imitation of gold and lapis lazuli. From the head band rears the cobra, or uraeus, representing divine protection of the king and a symbol of royalty, as was the false beard, now missing, shown held in place by straps over the ears. On his chest the king wears a large collar; his ears are shown pierced to enable him to wear the elaborate earrings which were in vogue during the New Kingdom. The king's face is full, his eyes narrow, emphasised by pronounced cosmetic lines; his nose is slender and mouth straight. On the shoulders are inscribed two of the king's names and titles:
"Lord of the Two Lands, Baenrre Meryamun", on the right, and "Lord of Epiphanies, Merenptah Hetephermaat", on the left. The dorsal pillar carries the beginning of an inscription reading "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of...".

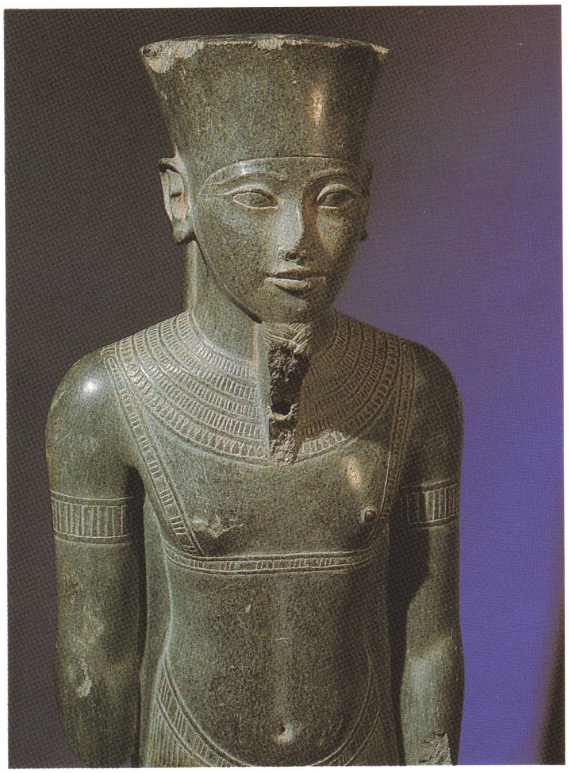
In the fifth year of his reign Merenptah fought a major battle against the Libyans and Sea Peoples, in which he successfully defended Egypt against invasion. He commemorated this victory upon a stela set up in his mortuary temple, which is famous for its reference to the tribes of Israel, whom he had also defeated. The lid of his sarcophagus, under which he was laid to rest in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings, was reused for the outer sarcophagus in which Psusennes I of the XXIst dynasty was buried at Tanis.



1

2
STATUETTE OF THE GOD AMUN

Schist (greywacke)
Height: 58cm
Thebes, temple of Amun at Karnak, court of the cachette
New Kingdom, late XVIIIth dynasty, 1334-1295 B.C.
JE 38049



2

This statuette, partly restored, represents the god Amun in his usual form, that of a young male crowned with a flat-topped cap, originally surmounted by two tall plumes. It has been suggested that these plumes were made of gold. He is depicted barefoot, wearing a knee-length kilt, a broad collar, corselet, arm bands and a false beard. His arms are held straight by the sides and, in the typical stance for a man, his left foot is forward. Highly polished, and despite damage, it is a masterpiece of the Egyptian sculptors' art.

The figure was found in the court in front of the seventh pylon at Karnak, the so-called "court of the cachette", along with some 750 stone statues (cat. nos 3-5) and 17,000 bronzes, where they had been buried in the early Ptolemaic Period. The facial features and details of the body enable the piece to be dated probably to the reign of Tutankhamun, approximately 1334-1325 B.C.

The god Amun, whose name means "the Hidden One", emerged from a position of obscurity during the Old Kingdom to become one of Egypt's most important gods in the New Kingdom. His main temple at Karnak in Thebes became the wealthiest and one of the most venerated of all shrines. Amun was equated with the ancient sun god Re of Heliopolis, the great creator, to become Amun-Re, King of the Gods. As patron of kingship, the New Kingdom rulers attributed to him their success in battle; he became a truly universal deity. At the end of the New Kingdom the high priest of Amun at Thebes, who was also head of the army, was assigned rule of the southern part of the country. Throughout the ensuing XXIst dynasty the high priests of Amun ruled the south independent of the kings at Tanis.

During the New Kingdom, in the XIXth dynasty, the cult of Amun was established at the Delta residence founded by Ramesses II at Per-Ramesses. When Tanis became the northern capital of Egypt at the end of the XXth dynasty, Amun, his wife Mut and their son Khons, were established as the city's official gods. Large temples were built, to be added to throughout the Third Intermediate Period to the Ptolemaic Period (cat. no. 6), and Tanis became the "Thebes of the North".

3

STATUETTE USURPED BY THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN, SHOSHENQ
Green Breccia
Height: 48cm
Thebes, temple of Amun at Karnak, court of the cachette
New Kingdom, late XVIIIth dynasty, reused in the Third Intermediate Period, XXIInd dynasty, reign of Osorkon I, 924-889 B.C.
JE 36988

Stylistically this small statuette, sadly damaged, must be ascribed to the late XVIIIth or early XIXth dynasties. It represents a priest of the goddess Hathor, or possibly Mut wife of the god Amun, as is indicated by the crown on the human-headed standard he carries in his left hand. In the right hand he clutches a folded handkerchief, an insignia of his office. He wears an elaborate wig, long pleated kilt with wide sash and diaphanous shirt with pleated short sleeves. His jewellery comprises a double necklace, upper arm bands and bracelets.

As the inscription on the back pillar indicates, it was reused in the early XXIInd dynasty by the high priest of Amun and head of the army, Shoshenq, eldest son of Osorkon I. Shoshenq held these positions for most of his father's reign. At the time of its reuse it was also repaired. The sculptor added a new right sleeve and, rather clumsily, reworked the damaged left hand. In addition to the inscription on the dorsal pillar, figures of the gods Amun and Osiris were engraved into the chest and the kilt. Such reworking or usurpation of earlier pieces was common at all periods of Egyptian history. It was not thought necessary to remodel the facial features, the addition of the new owner's name being sufficient to bring about a reattribution.

As eldest son of the king, Shoshenq was elevated to the rank of co-regent in approximately 890 B.C. and is now known as Shoshenq II. However, he died before he could succeed his father, but was buried with all of the honours of kingship. His burial was discovered by Montet in 1939 in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I, tomb III, at Tanis. Within a silver coffin with falcon's head the body of this dignitary had unfortunately decomposed, but his gold mask, jewellery, silver canopic coffins and other burial goods remained undamaged. Some of these works of art are on display in this exhibition.

3

4
SEATED STATUE OF THE PRINCESS SHEBENSOPDET

Grey granite
Height: 83.5cm
Thebes, temple of Amun at Karnak, court of the cachette
Third Intermediate Period, XXIInd dynasty, reign of Osorkon II, circa 850 B.C.
JE 37383

This stylised but very graceful statue represents its owner as a slender young woman, fortuitously agreeing with the known life history of this princess. Seated demurely upon a short-backed chair, Shebensopdet adopts the typical feminine posture with feet together. She wears a tight-fitting transparent dress with short sleeves, a long heavy wig and holds a blue lotus flower in her left hand, symbolising beauty and rejuvenation in the afterlife. The piece follows a model dating back to the mid-XVIIIth dynasty. Upon the left shoulder is incised her name, on the right her epithet "Beloved of Bastet", the patron deity of the XXIInd dynasty who was worshipped at Bubastis. Upon her thighs is represented the ram of Herishef, a god of sexual fertility and Lord of Heracleopolis, and upon the front of her dress is Osiris, flanked by the goddesses Isis, on the right, and Nephthys, on the left.

The inscriptions upon the piece and others relating to her husband's family enable us to reconstruct the outlines of Shebensopdet's life. She was the daughter of Nimlot, high priest of Amun, leader of the army, the third son of Osorkon II. Nimlot was first appointed governor of Heracleopolis, a stronghold of the XXIInd dynasty at the entrance to the Fayum. On his promotion to high priest of Amun at Karnak and governor of the south, his daughter became one of the systrum-players of Amun and was married to the young scribe Hor (cat. no. 5), a member of a leading Theban family. Shebensopdet died while she was still young, after bearing Hor one daughter. On her death, Hor commissioned this statue to be placed in the temple of Amun, upon which was engraved a florid posthumous "autobiography".

4

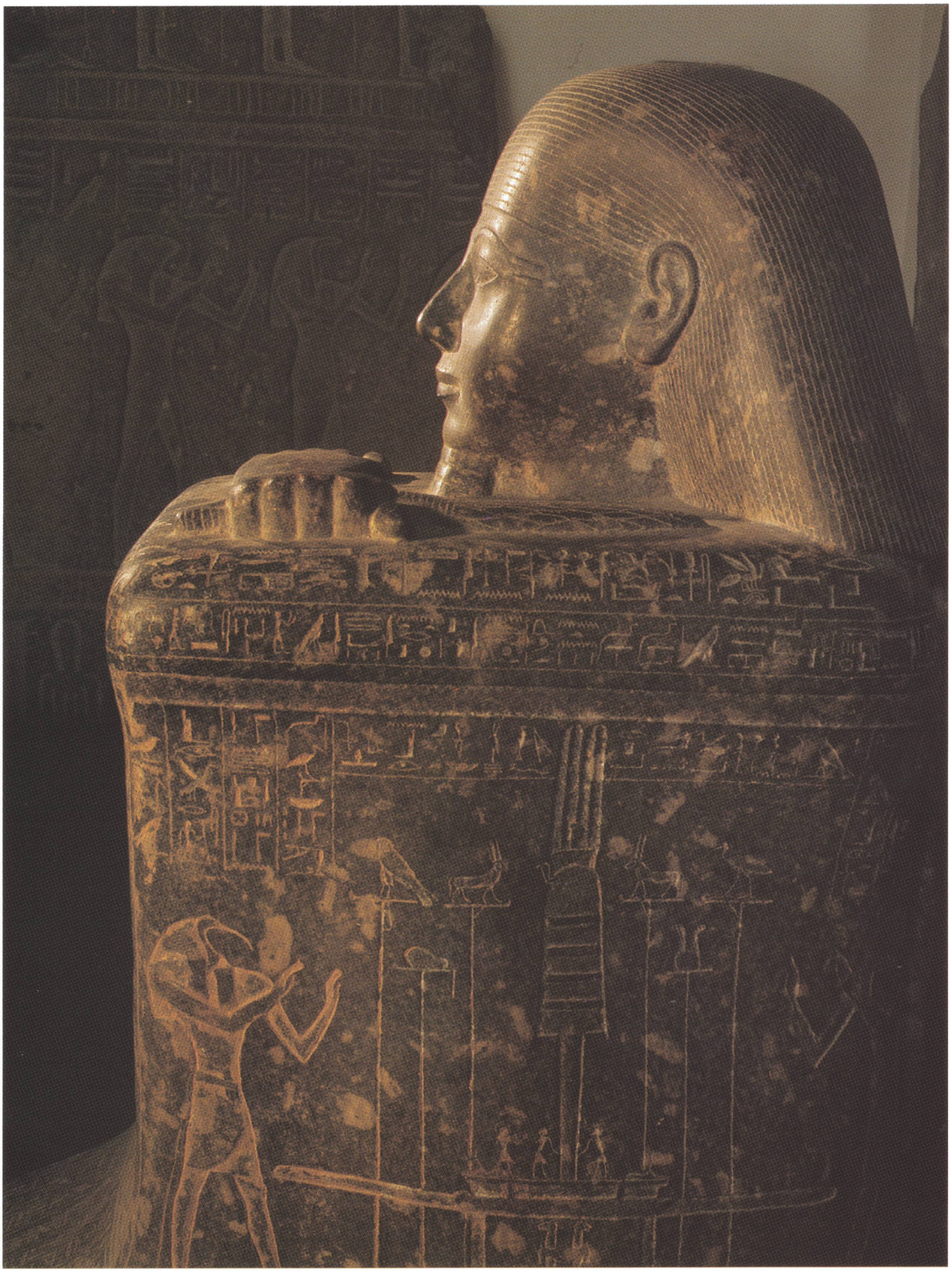
5
CUBE STATUE OF HOR

Grey granite
Height: 1.10m
Thebes, temple of Amun at Karnak, court of the cachette
Third Intermediate Period, XXIIIrd dynasty, reign of Petubast I, 818-793 B.C.
JE 36575

This magnificent cube, or block, statue of Hor was undoubtedly commissioned at the end of his long life, but shows him as a young man. Hor is depicted seated as though upon the ground, with his legs bent and drawn in tightly to the chest; his arms are folded upon his knees. There is little indication of clothing, but the owner appears as if completely swathed; his long wig falls onto the shoulders from behind his ears.

This type of statue has a long history in Egypt, first appearing in the Middle Kingdom and continuing until the Late Period. Its compact bulk helped protect it against damage and provided ideal surfaces upon which to inscribe autobiographical information or representations of the gods. Both are found on the present piece; of the gods depicted Osiris dominates. On the front he is shown with the falcon-headed Montu, war-god of Thebes, while his cult symbol is shown on the left adored by ibis-headed Thoth and Horus, son of Osiris. On the right, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, is the processional barque of Sokar-Osiris.

Hor was a member of one of the leading Theban priestly families of the time which served the gods Amun and Montu. He was appointed "letter-writer (i.e. secretary) of the king" during the reign of Osorkon II, whose grand-daughter, Shebensopdet (cat. no. 4), he married. Hor was active in office for nearly forty years. With the emergence of the XXIIIrd dynasty, and despite his marriage to a princess of the XXIInd dynasty, he transferred his allegiance to the new kings, like most of the Theban families. The present statue "was given to him as a favour from the king Petubast to be placed in the temple of Amun". In the inscription upon the piece Hor congratulates himself upon his long life and his ability to organise the land "in accordance with the King's orders and the written laws of the ancestor". The aim of this inscription was to inspire the priests in the temple to pray for the worthy owner of the statue, repeating his name and so give him eternal life.



5

6
HEAD OF PANEMERIT, GOVERNOR OF TANIS
Schist (greywacke)
Height: 32cm
Tanis, temple of Amun
Ptolemaic Period, reign of Ptolemy XIII, 80-54 B.C.
CG 27493

This striking head is undoubtedly a portrait of Panemerit in maturity. It comes from an over lifesize statue; the head was discovered by Mariette in 1861 and the torso by Montet in 1937. The latter is in the Louvre and shows the right arm raised in a gesture of adoration and, sculpted at the abdomen, a small figure of Horus, Lord of Mesen, who was second patron deity of Tanis during the Ptolemaic Period.

Panemerit was a contemporary of Ptolemy XIII, the father of Cleopatra the Great. As governor of the city he bore the title "chief of the army", but his responsibilities were mainly related to temple affairs. Several statues of him have been found at Tanis.

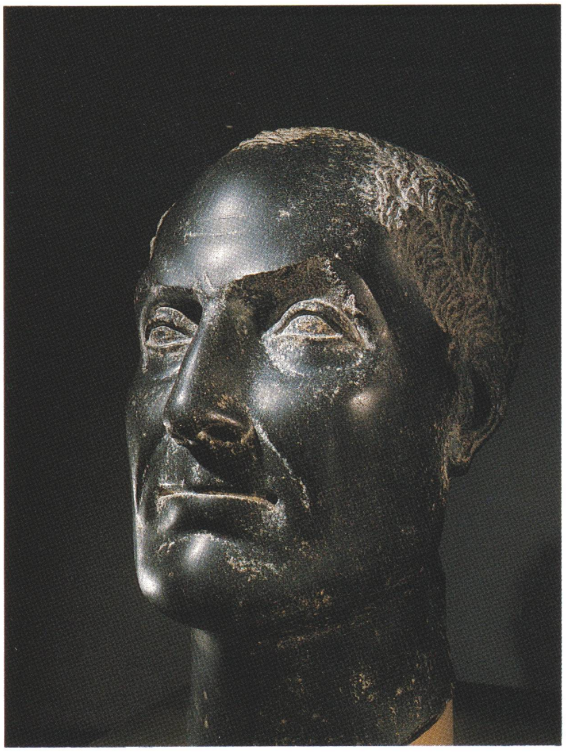
7
TOMB RELIEF DEPICTING A SCENE OF JUBILATION
Limestone
Length: 1.05m
Saqqara
New Kingdom, XIXth dynasty, 1295-1187
JE 4872

This block, which stylistically and thematically can be ascribed to a private tomb of the XIXth dynasty in the cemetery at Sakkara, was found reused in the Serapeum, burial place of the sacred Apis bulls (cat. no. 20).

The figures represented form two confronting groups: eight males on the right and ten females on the left. The men are all shown striding to the left, their heads held high and arms upraised. They form three subgroups, each member of which is identically attired. Two soldiers lead the procession, followed by three priests and three dignitaries. Characteristic of Egyptian artistic conventions, only one member of each group is shown in full.

The restrained, if forceful, movement of the men contrasts most effectively with the exuberant dance of the females. Breaking away from the formality of Egyptian art, the use of different heights, postures and directions creates the feeling of activity, of the dance in progress. Two naked girls with braided hair play castanent-like instruments while the women play small hand drums not unlike tambourines. Their diaphanous dresses and long wigs sway as they dance.

This block has been thought to depict part of a funeral procession, though it is possible that the scene showed the acclamation of a high official or a religious procession.



6

7

8
SKETCH OF A GODDESS BY NEBNEFER
Ink on Limestone
Height: 25.5cm
Thebes, Valley of the Kings
New Kingdom,
JE 28932

The draughtsman Nebnefer, who worked on the decoration of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, followed a common practice in using a flake of limestone for his sketch of a goddess. Depicting either Isis or Nephthys in a posture of adoration, it may have been intended for dedication in a shrine. Other such sketches were trial pieces (cat. no. 8) or preserve for us representations of informal artistic expression, such as satire, animal fables and erotica. Often quickly executed they show the Egyptian artists' mastery of line work.

9
DRAWING OF THREE ANIMALS
Ink on Limestone
Height: 18cm
Thebes, Valley of the Kings
New Kingdom
JE 46732

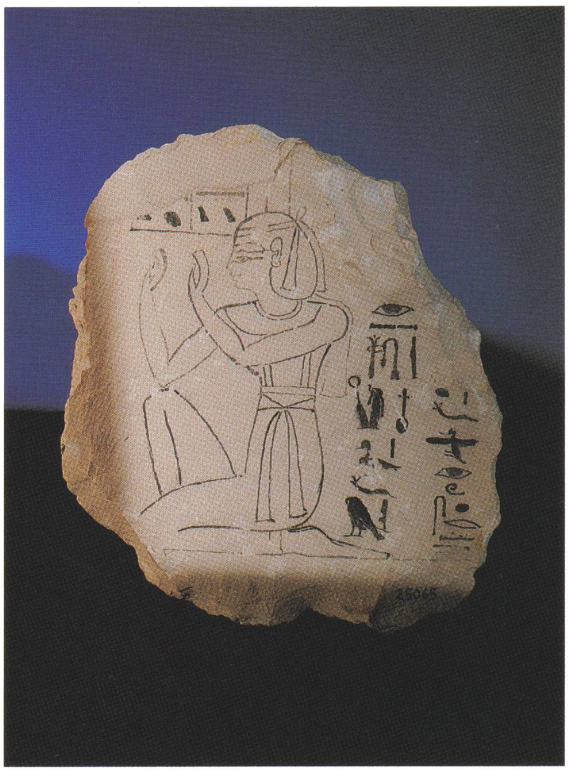
While working upon the decoration of the royal tombs, to master a difficult figure or sign, or simply pass the time, the artists practised upon the flakes of stone which came from the cutting of the tombs. The present example is dominated by a sketch of a crane, fully detailed, above which is drawn a basenji and to the right a vulture.

Limestone flakes were also used as a writing material. Whether they carry a sketch or text, such flakes are called ostraca, a term also applied to pieces of broken pottery vessels (potsherds) when they have been employed in a similar manner.

10
TILE DECORATED WITH TWO BIRDS
Faience with glass inlay
Length: 21.5cm
Thebes, temple of Medinet Habu
New Kingdom, XIXth dynasty,
reign of Ramesses III, 1185-1154 B.C.
TR 5/2/24/6

Hundreds of tiles similar to the present one were found at the mortuary temple and palace of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, some in place decorating a balcony at which the king made public appearances. This tile preserves two mouldmade representations of lapwings with human arms, seated upon baskets, in an attitude of adoration.
The lapwing symbolised the common folk of Egypt, originally those of the Delta in particular, and the sign of a basket was used for the word "all". Hence it is possible to interpret the decoration as conveying the statement "all mankind adores (the king)".

The walls of several palaces of the New Kingdom were ornamented with faience tiles and inlays. Future excavation at Tanis will show whether the tradition continued into the Third Intermediate Period.



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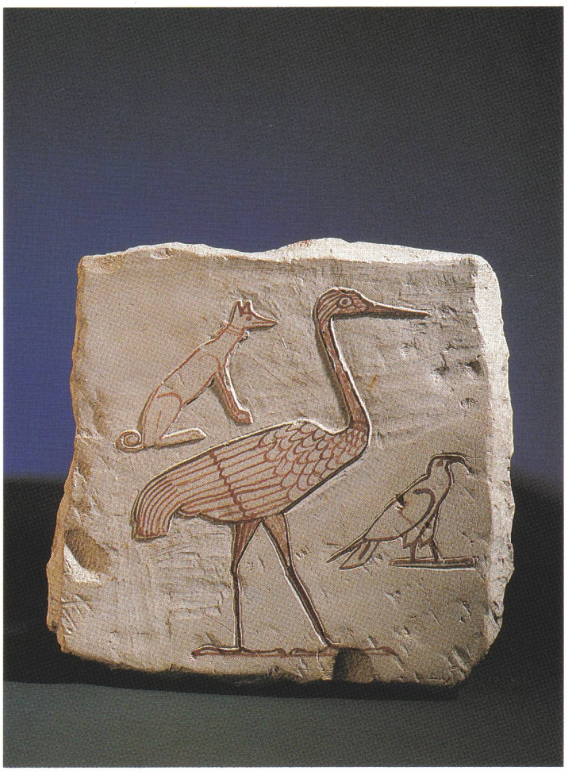


9

10

11
COFFIN OF TAMENKHAMUN
Wood covered with painted cartonnage
Length: 1.79 m
Probably Thebes
Third Intermediate Period,
XXIInd to XXVth dynasties
Museum of Victoria X79620

This anthropoid coffin represents its owner mummiform, wearing a long double-lappeted wig, a bead collar and originally also a false beard. It is decorated entirely with funerary images. Across the lower part of the chest the ram-headed falcon, Hor-behdet, spreads his wings, and below this is another representation of the same deity, falcon-headed, in a similar attitude of protection. Both images grasp the sign *shen*, eternity, in their claws and wear the sun's disc. Below them is the standard of Abydos, cult centre of Osiris, and at the ankles is painted a representation of the mummy of the coffin owner on a funerary bed, with the canopic jars below. On either side of these central motifs are small registers in which the owner is shown worshipping Osiris and other mortuary deities are represented. On the underside of the base is a large *djed* pillar, an emblem of Osiris symbolising stability.

Inscriptions upon the coffin inform us that Tamenkhamun was Overseer of the Chamber or House of Amun, son of Nesikhonsu, Deputy-Overseer in the House of Amun, and that his mother was Diseshep.

During the Third Intermediate Period, when it became common for many people to be buried within a single tomb, the decoration of coffins became more elaborate and important, serving as a substitute for the decoration upon the walls of individual tombs.

12
COFFIN OF A MAN
Wood covered with painted cartonnage
Height: 1.88m
Provenance unknown
Late Third Intermediate Period
Phillip Adams Collection

This mummiform coffin represents its owner wearing a large lappet wig, long plaited false beard and a large bead collar. Below this is a human-headed bird supplied with arms which hold the feather of truth and order. It is crowned with the sun's disc and clutches the symbol of eternity. On either side of this image are figures of a falcon seated upon a shrine; to its right is Isis and left Nephthys. Below, flanking a vertical column of inscription invoking Osiris, the decoration is divided into a series of small panels each containing two identical figures. They are drawn in the manner of amulets, as though held in place by the linen wrappings of the mummy. On the under-side is the *djed* pillar of Osiris.

12

II

II

13
VULTURE COLLAR
Gold
Width: 27cm
Thebes, Valley of the Kings Tomb 55
New Kingdom, XVIIIth dynasty,
reign of Akhenaten, 1350-1334 B.C.
JE 39630

The vulture represented Nekhbet, patron goddess of Upper Egypt; her image worn around the neck in the form of a collar ensured her divine protection. Few such collars have survived; one example was found in the royal tombs at Tanis, on the body of Shoshenq II, and another upon the body of Tutankhamun. The present example is finely detailed upon both sides. Near the tip of each wing is a small loop for the attachment of a counterpoise which would hold the collar in place.

This collar derives from one of the most enigmatic burials to have been found in the Valley of the Kings. Discovered in 1907 by E. R. Ayrton, the single chambered tomb contained the remains of the burial furnishings of at least two members of the late XVIIIth dynasty royal family, namely Queen Tiye and her son King Akhenaten. Belonging to the latter was a coffin, originally made for a female and which had been altered to receive the body of that king; subsequently, the inscriptions upon it were erased. It contained the damaged mummy of a young man who recently, after detailed examination of the remains, has been identified as a full brother of Tutankhamun and possibly the ephemeral ruler Smenkhkare. This collar was found around the neck of the body.

14
MINIATURE GOLD MASK
Gilded Cartonnage
Height: 14cm
Thebes, Valley of the Kings
New Kingdom
JE 39711

This piece has been described variously as a mask from a canopic coffin or lid from a canopic jar. The few canopic coffins which survive, from the tomb of Tutankhamun and the burial of Shoshenq II at Tanis (cat. no. 74), are made with upper and lower sections in one piece each. Unlike the present piece, canopic jar lids are normally solid, except when made of pottery; they are also of a different shape. This piece is hollow and has patches of a black resinous material adhering to the inside.

The owner wears a lappet wig and bead collar; the eyes are inlaid and cosmetic details painted.

14

13

15
DRINKING VESSEL
Silver
Height: 11cm
Tod
Middle Kingdom, Dynasty XII,
reign of Amenemhat II, 1901-1897 B.C.
JE 66411

This small drinking vessel comes from a collection of silver vessels presented to the temple at Tod, south of Luxor, by Amenemhat II, which was found buried in four bronze chests underneath the temple paving. This treasure is one of the few large deposits of silver vessels to have been preserved from ancient Egypt and it is, therefore, of interest for comparison with the silverware from Tanis.

While the Tanis vessels are undoubtedly of Egyptian workmanship and inspiration, the form and decoration of several of the Tod vessels indicates foreign inspiration, if not manufacture. The present example with its curved fluting is one such vessel. The source of this inspiration has been identified as either Crete or Western Asia.

15

16
CASKET OF RAMESSES IX
Wood, ivory and coloured inlays
Width: 24cm
Thebes, Deir el-Bahri Cache
New Kingdom, XXth dynasty,
reign of Ramesses IX, 1124-1105 B.C.
JE 26271

The sides and top of this small, short-legged casket have inset panels coated with black resin, now badly cracked, in imitation of ebony. These panels are framed first with borders of coloured inlays and then by lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions, written upon an ivory facing, giving the titulary of the king. The front panel is furnished with a small handle.

This object was found in the tomb of Queen Inhapi at Deir el-Bahri, which was used by the Theban high priests of Amun of the XXIst dynasty for their burials and those of their families. At the end of the dynasty, despairing of being able to protect the royal burials in the Valley of the Kings from pillage, the priests transferred some of the royal dead and what remained of their burial equipment to this tomb also. There they all remained undisturbed until their modern discovery towards the end of the last century.

It was during the reign of Ramesses IX himself that the scandal of the tomb robberies broke out and royal commissions were formed to look into the affair. While meeting with temporary success they did not abate the looting and his own burial was to suffer this fate.

16

17

SHABTI BOX OF MAATKARE
Painted Wood
Width: 43cm
Thebes, Deir el-Bahri Cache
Third Intermediate Period, XXIst dynasty
JE 26264B

This is one of two boxes which originally contained the shabti figures which would work on behalf of Maatkare in the afterlife. She was provided with the necessary complement of 401 such figures: 365 workers and 36 overseers. These figures, are made in faience with the brilliant blue glaze typical of the Theban workshops during the XXIst dynasty. They have the usual dark wig, here adorned with the rearing cobra, a symbol of their owner's queenship.

The double panel of inscriptions upon the box proclaim Maatkare, whose names are written in cartouches, as beloved of Osiris, on the left, and Anubis, on the right. In addition, each panel contains a formal, and unusual, statement of Maatkare's eternal ownership of the shabti figures: "....Maatkare, deceased, is the owner of her gang of workmen. An official inquiry will never be held into them". This accords with the notion of the period that the shabtis were slaves bought from the faience-maker, which became the lawful property of their new owner under a contract ratified by the oracle of Amun.

Maatkare was the sister of Psusennes I and daughter of the high priest of Amun and king Pinudjem I (1054-1032 B.C.), who appointed her to the position of God's Wife of Amun. This was the senior female sacredotal position, making her the earthly wife of the god and giving her the status of queen. On her death, during the high priesthood of her brother Menkherperre (1045-992 B.C.), she was buried in a set of three polychrome, wooden coffins and with a superb copy of the Book of the Dead; in her innermost coffin was placed the mummy of her pet baboon. At the end of the dynasty her burial was transferred for greater security to the tomb of Queen Inhapi, which was then being used for the burials of the high priests of Amun and their families.

17

18

GAMING BOX AND PIECES FOR "TWENTY SQUARES" AND SENET
Wood
Length: 28cm
Saqqara
New Kingdom, XIXth dynasty, reign of Seti I, 1294-1279 B.C.
JE 39925

The game of "twenty squares" may have originated in Iraq or Iran. The Egyptians appear to have played the game since the XIIth dynasty, from which date it is depicted in two tomb reliefs. While the details of the game are not known precisely, it is clear that two players sat at each of the long sides of the board and used five similar gaming pieces. They arranged their pieces along the edge of the board, which on this example is inscribed, and, after obtaining some special throw of the dice, proceeded to move the pieces one at a time into the sunken squares along the edge and then into the long central row. Certain squares were lucky or unlucky, as their captions indicate. The object was to move all pieces down the central row and into the draw before the opponent succeeded in doing so. Moves were determined by the throw of a dice or special piece, a function possibly performed by the turquoise faience, spool-shaped piece or the two small bones of the present set.

On the under-side of the box is the layout for another more popular and ancient game called senet, "passing". In principle similar to "twenty squares", it required three rows of ten squares along which the two opponents moved their pieces to reach the draw. Again, certain squares were disadvantageous or advantageous to progress. This game acquired funerary significance in the New Kingdom, the fate of the deceased depending upon successfully playing senet against adversaries in the underworld.

The inscriptions upon the box inform us that its owner, Kha, was a scribe and they request blessings from two deities who were particularly important to him, namely Thoth, patron of his profession, and Ptah, creator-god of Memphis.

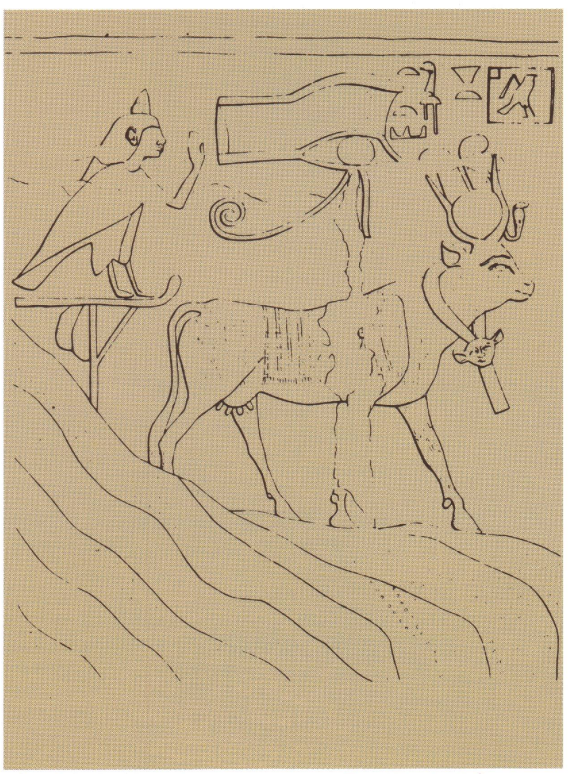
18

19
MIRROR
Bronze
Height: 32.2cm
Thebes, cemetery of Qurna
New Kingdom, early XVIIIth dynasty
JE 33084

This polished bronze mirror has a handle in the shape of a papyrus stem surmounted by a double sided image of the face of the goddess Hathor. Above the face is an attenuated papyrus umbel into which is set the actual mirror, held in place by a rivet. Papyriform handles are the most common type found with Egyptian mirrors.

The mirror, as it reflected the image, was associated with vitality and regeneration, notions also conveyed by the shape of the handle and the representation of Hathor. This goddess was also revered in mortuary contexts as Mistress of the West and as such she is depicted in the tombs at Tanis. One relief, from the burial chamber of Wen-djeba-en-djed within the tomb of Psusennes I, depicts her in the form of her sacred animal, the cow, wearing the solar disc and uraeus, symbols of her position as daughter of the sun-god, Re. About her neck is a collar in the form of the systrum ornamented with a face resembling that on this mirror.

19



(after Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis* II, pl. XLI).

20

20
STATUETTE OF THE APIS BULL
Bronze, gold and silver
Height: 11.8cm
Late Period
National Gallery of Victoria 4035.3

The creator-god of Memphis, Ptah, was represented upon earth by a bull, the Apis, which was stalled within the temple enclosure. The bull was identified on its birth, following the death of its predecessor, by certain markings and thereafter received all due honour until its death, when it was also identified with Osiris and buried in state. From the New Kingdom onwards this took place within a vast underground catacomb, called the Serapeum, at Saqqara, the cemetery of Memphis, often in huge granite sarcophagi. The stela which were set into the walls of this structure are an important source of historical information.

The present votive figure, dedicated by one Pedese, wears the solar disc and uraeus, a collar and a decorated cloth over its back. The markings which identify the bull are shown as a triangle on the forehead, a winged falcon on the shoulders and a winged vulture at the haunch. Other distinguishing features were double hairs in the tail and a mark resembling a scarab upon the tongue.

21

PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS FIGURE OF HOR
Gilded, silvered and painted wood
Height: 89.5cm
Akhmim
Ptolemaic Period
National Gallery of Victoria D96/1982

This impressive figure represents the syncretistic god of the dead and resurrection Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. He is shown characteristically slender and mummiform, wearing a double-lappet wig and a crown comprising ram's horns, the solar disc and two tall feathers. Apart from the wig and horns, the entire front of the figure is gilded, into which are incised a single line of text and the details of a large collar with falcon head terminals surmounted by the sun's disc. The wig is painted blue and the rear of the crown is polychrome. The back of the figure is black, except for a double column of inscription containing a prayer to the god, painted in black upon a yellow ground, possibly in imitation of papyrus.

The top, front and sides of the base are covered with a layer of silver foil and the back with gold foil. Its sides, front and back are decorated with a combination of hieroglyphic signs which may be interpreted as a wish for "all life and dominion". On the top is the outline of a rectangular object now lost, but which may have been a figure of a seated falcon, an image of Sokar. Bands of blue are painted at the junctions of the top and sides, and the sides with one another.

This figure, one of the most elaborate of its type known, is rich in symbolism. Its owner is identified with the god and partakes of his resurrection and eternal life; he will benefit throughout eternity from the god's emergence from the primeval waters, mentioned in the prayer, which are the source of all life. The blue bands upon the base represent these waters. Hollow figures of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, such as this one, often contained imitation mummies, which are to be interpreted as encoffined within the body of the god. Other examples contained copies of the Book of the Dead.

The inscription upon the front tells us that Hor was a stolist-priest of the fertility god Min of Akhmim, and that he held positions in the priesthood of Min at Coptos and of Osiris. He was an oracle-scribe, the son of the stolist-priest of Min and scribe of sacred writings, Djedhor.

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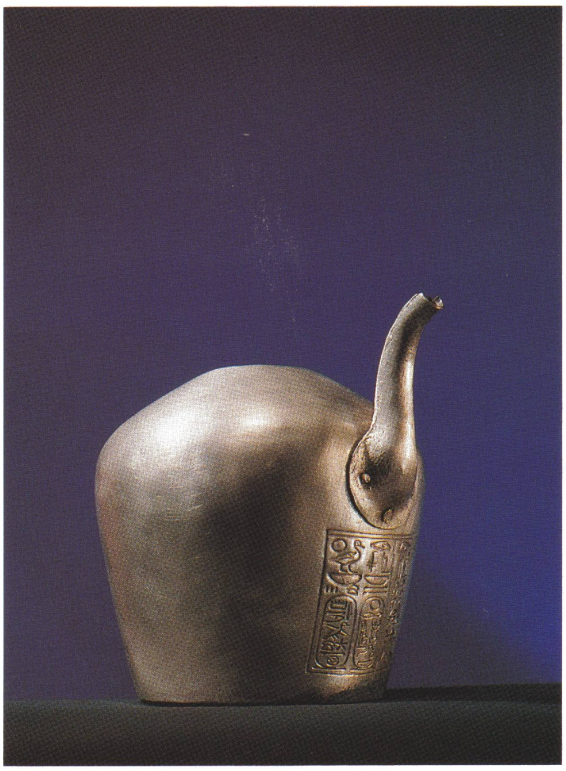

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27
OPEN BOWL
Silver
Width: 16.5cm
JE 85906

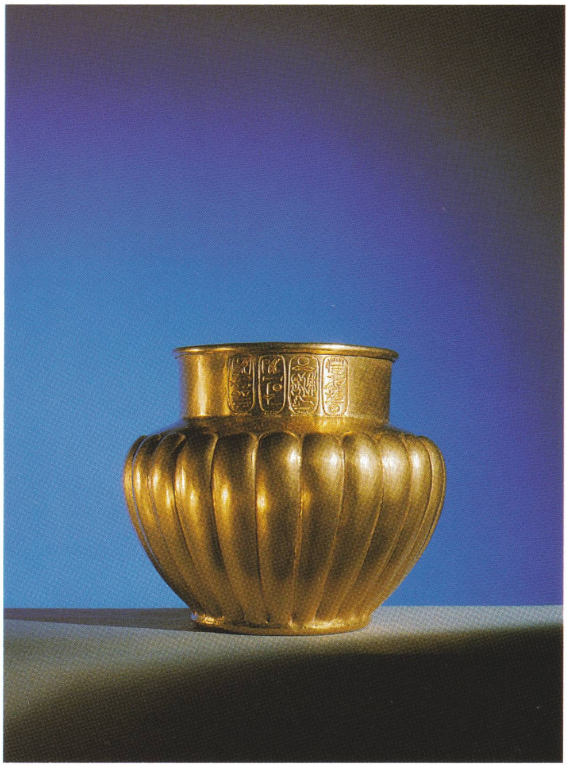
This simple bowl with a short foot recalls the shape of the hieroglyphic sign *neb*, depicting a basket. Montet described its design as an imitation of a mud brick wall, but it rather represents the weaving of a reed basket. The double cartouches give the name of the king, above which are two of his titles.

28
FLUTED JAR WITH SHORT NECK
Gold
Height: 7.7cm
JE 85896

The fluted body of this small jar flares from a wide base, incurving to join a straight-sided, vertical neck, upon which are inscribed four cartouches. The two upon the right contain names of the king, while those on the left give the name and titles of his wife, Henuttawy. Fluting upon the body of metal vases appears from the Middle Kingdom onwards, upon Egyptian-made and imported vessels (cat. no. 15).

29
FITTING FROM THE TOP OF A STAFF
Gold
Height: 28cm
JE 85855

This fitting from the top of a staff comprises a spherical pommel attached to a tubular section. It originally surmounted a wooden staff, one of several placed within the king's coffin; like all fragile materials in the tomb, the wood had unfortunately decomposed. Below the pommel it is ornamented with a small scene in which Psusennes makes an offering to Amun-Re, King of the Gods. The king wears the blue crown and carries the *heqa*-sceptre, insignia associated with his accession. Staffs decorated with fittings similar to this one were carried in the consecration of food offerings to the gods.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29

30
INNER SARCOPHAGUS
Black Granite
Length: 2.2 m
New Kingdom, XIXth dynasty, reused by Psusennes I
JE 85911

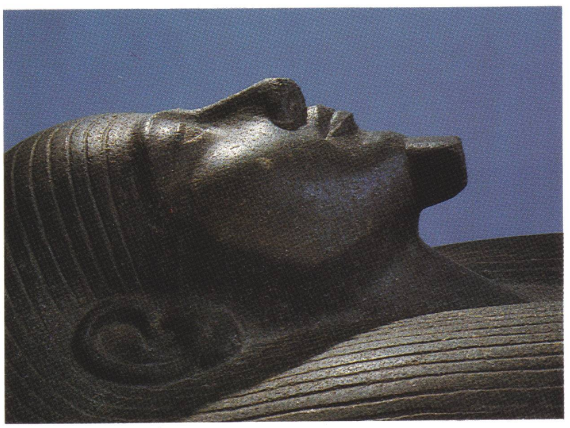
Within his tomb Psusennes' body was protected by a series of coffins and sarcophagi. The outer rectangular chest was of pink granite closed with a magnificent lid carved with representations of a king in the guise of Osiris protected by Isis on the exterior, and a figure of the sky-goddess Nut on the interior. Within this was the anthropoid, black granite sarcophagus displayed in this exhibition. In turn, this contained a solid silver coffin in which the body of the king lay under a sheet of gold, upon a sheet of silver, his head covered with a magnificent gold mask (cat. no. 31).

The black granite sarcophagus carries representations of the Four Sons of Horus, son of Osiris, Anubis and Thoth on its basal part, and Nut, with winged arms outstretched, upon the the upper part. The inscriptions accompanying Nut indicate her protection of the body, those on the base ensure that the body will be whole in the afterlife.

While the names of Psusennes figure prominently upon this sarcophagus, it was not made for the burial of the king. This is indicated by the lack of royal insignia upon the human effigy and the fact that Psusennes' names have been added in palimpsest. The identity of the original owner is unknown but he must have been a high dignitary.

A study of the texts and iconography indicate a date within the XIXth dynasty for the sarcophagus' manufacture. Psusennes had similarly reused the lid and base of the outer sarcophagus in which he was interred. The base belonged to an unidentifiable king of the XIXth dynasty, while the lid had been made for Merenptah of that same dynasty (cat. no. 1).

These pieces may have been supplied for the king's burial by the priests of Amun at Karnak. From the late XXth dynasty onwards, following the discovery that the royal and private tombs at Thebes were being robbed, the priests undertook tours of inspection as a deterant and also to salvage what remained of the burials. Bodies were rewrapped and reburied, often moved from their original tombs. As a result of this coffins, sarcophagi and other items of funerary equipment became available for reuse.



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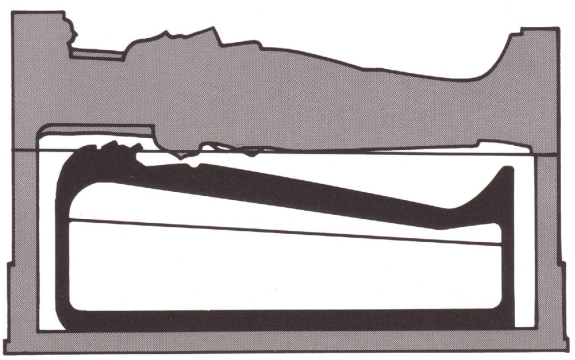
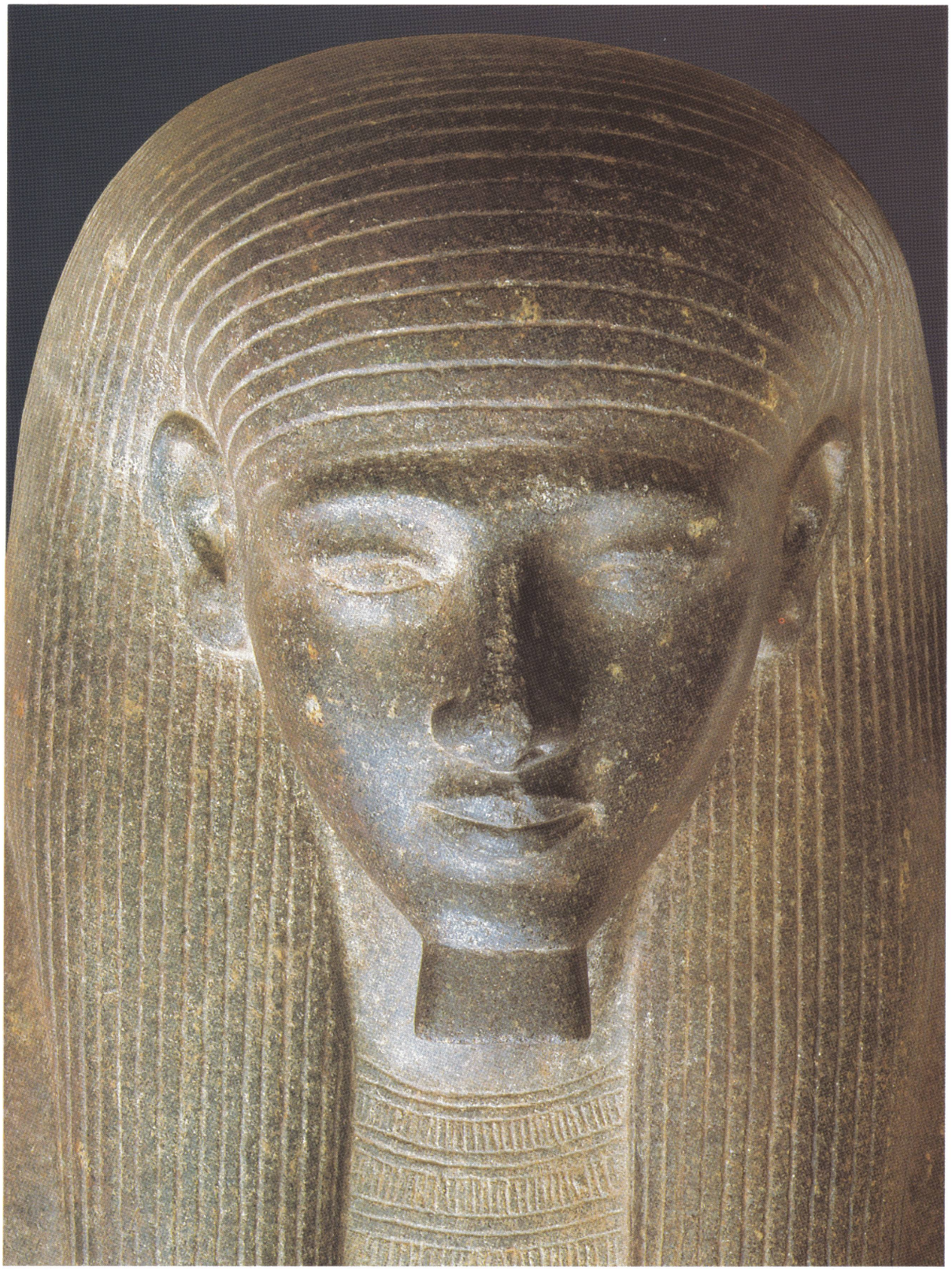




30

31
FUNERARY MASK
Gold, lapis lazuli and glass
Height: 48cm
JE 85913

Montet discovered four gold masks at Tanis, one each upon the faces of General Wen-djeba-en-djed and Kings Shoshenq II, Amenemope and Psusennes I. All found in the tomb of Psusennes, his is undoubtedly the most spectacular.

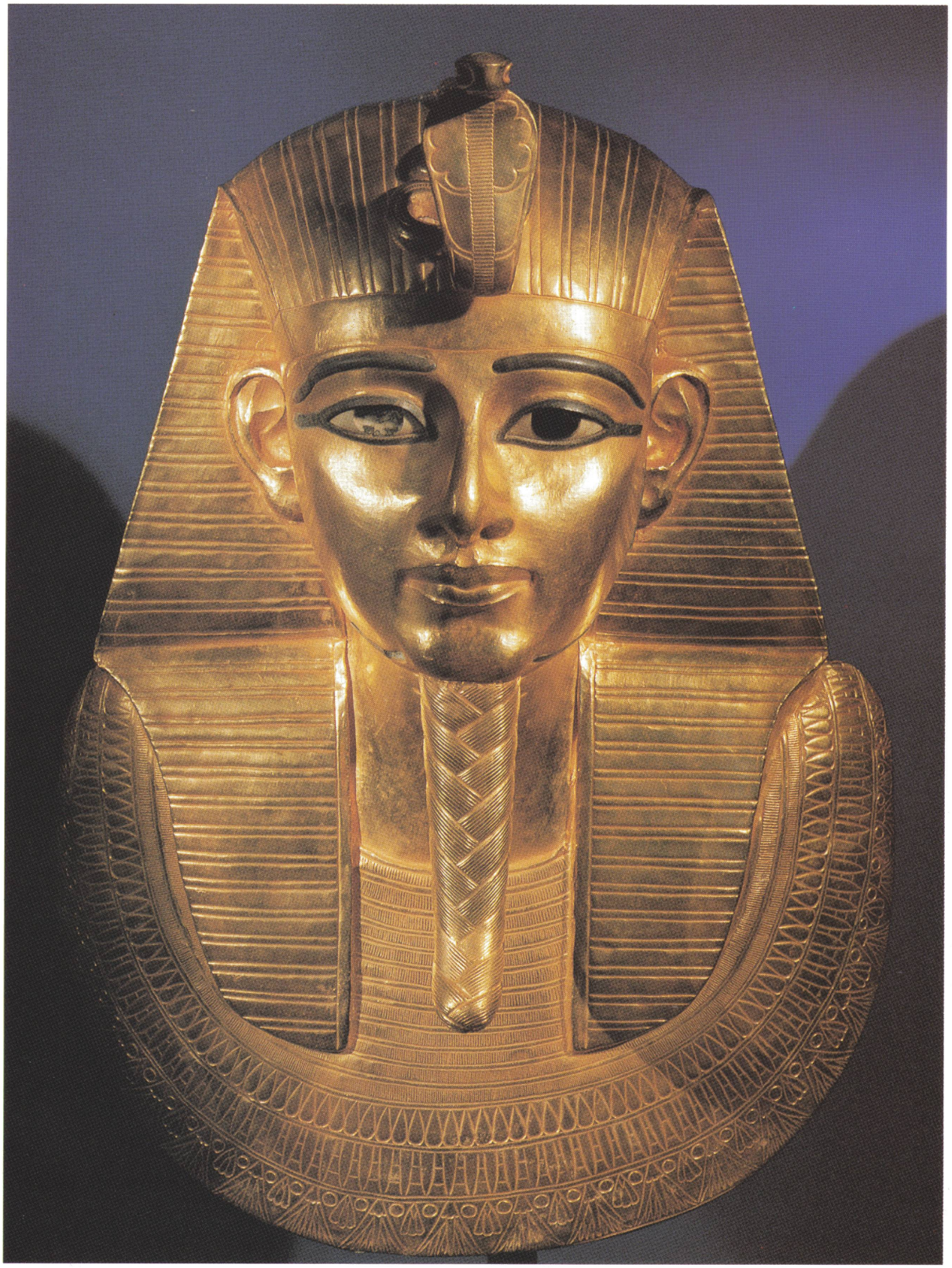
Unlike the others, this piece is perhaps better described as a head covering rather than a mask. The king wears the royal headcloth, the *nemes*, secured by a headband, above which rears the cobra, or uraeus, symbol of his protection by the sun-god. The false plaited beard, another attribute of kingship, is shown as though held in place by straps of inlaid lapis lazuli; the eyes and eyebrows are of inlaid glass. Incised upon the shoulders and chest are the details of a large collar comprising rows of beads and floral elements.

The mask, of sheet gold, is made in two pieces held together by five gold nails; similar fastenings secure the separately made beard and uraeus, which is in three pieces. Both the uraeus and beard are minutely detailed. The idealised, youthful features of the king's face are portrayed with great subtlety; the quality of their execution shows a complete mastery of the medium by the ancient goldsmith. Its gold sheeting nowhere more than one millimetre in thickness, this piece commands our total admiration.

Its refined simplicity contrasts with the richness of the only other comparable mask, found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Unlike that of Psusennes, the mask of Tutankhamun is elaborately inlaid and carries an inscription which explains the significance of such pieces. The text, known since the Middle Kingdom and incorporated into the Book of the Dead as chapter 151B, aims to protect the mask by identifying its various parts with the corresponding parts of the bodies of various gods. It reads:
"...Your right eye is the boat of night (of the sun-god), your left eye is the boat of day, your eyebrows are those of the Ennead of the Gods, your forehead is that of Anubis, the nape of your neck is that of Horus, your locks of hair are those of Ptah-Sokar. You are in front of the Osiris (Tutankhamun); he sees thanks to you, you guide him to the good paths, you smite for him the confederates of Seth so that he may overthrow your enemies before the Ennead of the Gods in the great Mansion of the Prince, which is in Heliopolis....."
(after I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1972), cat. no. 50)

With such a mask the deceased will triumph over any opposition, to live forever. Its power is enhanced by the magical properties of gold, from which the flesh of the gods was made and which was radiant like the sun itself. Psusennes I, wearing this mask, would shine mightily throughout eternity.

FROM THE BURIAL OF PSUSENNES I



31

32

32
FIVE FINGER-STALLS WITH RINGS
Gold
Length of middle finger-stall: 8cm
JE 85822-85826A

These finger-stalls were found upon the right hand of the king's body and an identical set was found upon the left hand. They are solid cases with the nails in outline, each fitted with a gold ring. At the time of discovery the finger-stalls on both hands were lavishly ornamented with rings of various types (cat. no. 44).

It was essential to guarantee that the deceased had the use of his/her hands and feet in the afterlife. To ensure this the digits were provided with protective coverings during the processes of mummification. Rings placed upon the fingers and stalls after wrapping the body would further protect and restore vitality to the hands. Made of gold, these examples indicate the divinity of the king.

33

34

33
FIVE TOE-STALLS WITH RINGS
Gold
Length of largest stall: 5cm
JE 85831-85835

These stalls from the right foot, of which an identical set was found upon the left foot, resemble the finger-stalls, being solid sheaths into which the outline of the nail is incised. Each bears a ring. The toe-stalls were both protection for the toes and a means of restoring to them their function in the afterlife.

34
AMULETIC PLAQUE
Gold
Length: 16.6cm
JE 85821

The images and hieroglyphs upon this rectangular plaque have been stamped into it and details incised with a burin. The central image is that of the *wedjat*-eye, a name which means "intact". In Egyptian mythology this was the eye of the god Horus, son of Osiris, which was wounded during his struggles against his uncle, Seth, and healed by Thoth, or alternatively, it was the eye of the sun-god Re. Its representation in amulet form signified the regaining of what has been lost and protection. On this plaque the eye is worshipped by the Four Sons of Horus, protectors of the internal organs.

Found near the pelvis, it had clearly been placed over the abdominal cut through which Psusennes' viscera had been removed by the embalmers. The holes at each corner enabled it to be attached to the linen wrappings of the body, whose purpose it was to protect and restore.

35
WINGED SCARAB PECTORAL
Gold, red and green jasper, green feldspar and black, blue and red glass
Width of pectoral: 12.5cm
JE 85789

35

The body of Psusennes was equipped with four winged scarab pectorals, three of which are on display in this exhibition (also cat. nos 36-7). The green jasper scarab, whose wings are inlaid with glass in cloisonné technique, supports a cartouche bearing the king's name, in glass inlays, and draws behind it the sign for eternity, inlaid with red jasper. On the back similar elements are executed in repoussé and two rings are attached to the tops of the wings for attaching the chain. This is made up of a double row of gold, red and green jasper and green feldspar beads, to which is also attached a small floral element.

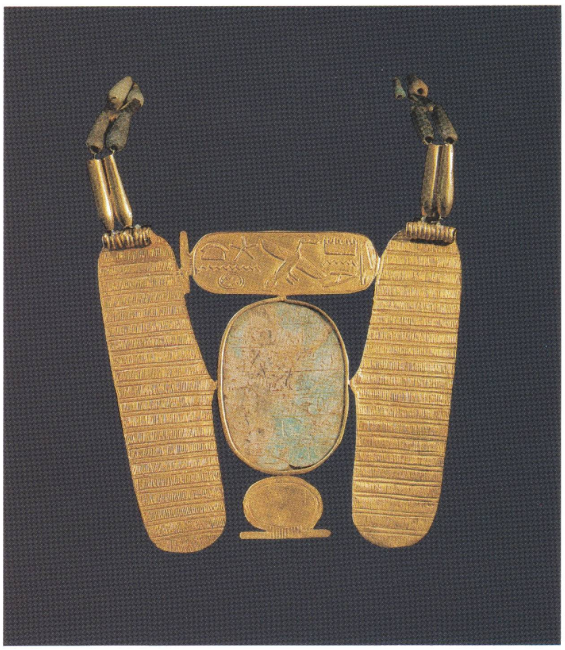
The winged scarab represents the god Kheperi, the rising sun, and it was frequently depicted rolling before it the orb of the sun and pulling the symbol of eternity behind. This image evoked for the Egyptians the notion of the eternal cycle of the sun's journey, the rising (birth) and setting (death) of the great creator, with whom the king was united on death. This pectoral depicts Kheperi raising aloft the name of the king rather than the solar disc. On the reverse of the scarab is inscribed chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead, which ensures that the heart will support the deceased on the Day of Judgement and not speak out against him. Scarabs inscribed with this or similar texts are referred to as heart-scarabs.

35

36
WINGED SCARAB PECTORAL

Gold, carnelian, red jasper, green feldspar, lapis lazuli and black, blue and red glass
Width of pectoral: 15.5cm
JE 85788

This pectoral differs from catalogue no. 35 only in the choice of materials used for its component parts and in the inscription upon the back of the scarab. The symbolism of the two pectorals is the same. The scarab is of green feldspar and upon its reverse is inscribed the text of chapter 126 of the Book of the Dead, a request that the gods who sit in the front of the solar barque of Re protect the king from his opponents.



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36

37

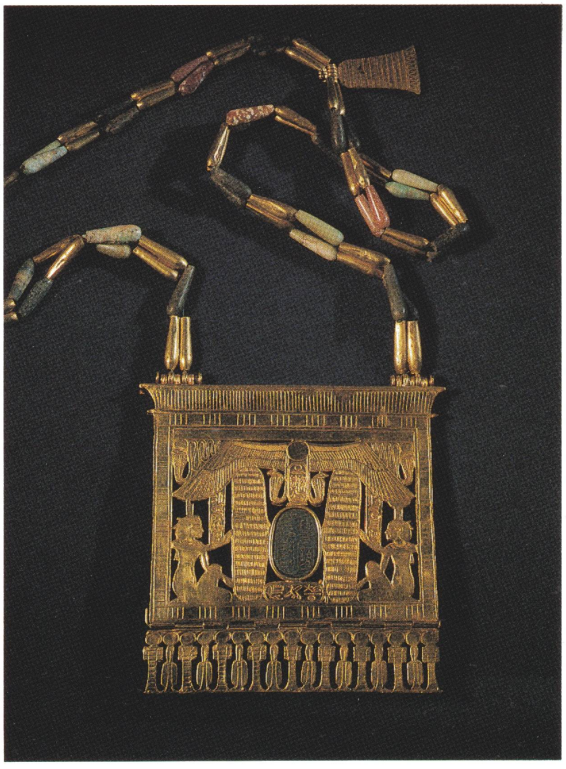
PECTORAL WITH WINGED SCARAB ADORED BY GODDESSES

Gold, carnelian, green feldspar, red jasper and lapis lazuli
Height of pectoral: 13.8
JE 85785

This elaborate pectoral, executed in cloisonné, was also found upon the body of the king. Like cat. nos 35-36, it depicts the ascension of the winged scarab, but here assisted by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The scarab, of lapis lazuli, pushes and pulls cartouches bearing names of the king. The upper one of these is flanked by rearing cobras and surmounted by the winged sun's disc, symbolising the union of the king and the sun-god.

This scene is set within an architectural frame, the shape of which recalls that of a temple gateway. It is surmounted by a cavetto cornice and a frieze of two alternating hieroglyphs, topped with solar discs, is suspended from the base. The latter is attached by means of eleven hinged, gold tubes through which passes a long pin. The signs depicted are the knot of Isis and the pillar of Osiris, whose protection they evoke for the king. The reverse of the pectoral has a similar incised design. The chain upon which it is suspended has been reconstructed from beads found in the bottom of the king's silver coffin.

37



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38

BEAD NECKLACE

Lapis lazuli and gold
Length: 56cm
JE 85755 and 85756 (inscribed bead)

The fifty-six lapis lazuli beads of this double-stringed necklace decrease in size from the two gold beads at the front to the gold clasp, which bears the names of the king. The beads are all spherical, or nearly so. Amongst the rather dull veined lapis beads one stands out for the intensity of its colour and the inscription upon it. The latter is written in the wedge-shaped script, cuneiform, of ancient Iraq. The text informs us that the bead was dedicated to the gods by an Assyrian vizier on behalf of his daughter. It appears to date to the eleventh century B.C. How Psusennes I obtained this bead is uncertain, though its date might provide a clue. Towards the end of his reign Ramesses IX sent a gift of a crocodile and a large ape to the Assyrian king Assur-bel-kala, who was then campaigning in Palestine. This bead may have been part of gifts sent in exchange; subsequently passed on to Smendes, it may have ended up in the possession of Psusennes. More prosaically, it may have been acquired through second-hand trade.

38

91

39
INLAID BRACELET
Gold, carnelian, feldspar and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 12.2cm
JE 85759

The arms of Psusennes I carried no fewer than twenty-two bracelets, four of which are exhibited here (also cat. nos. 40-42). This piece was found upon the king's right arm and is without parallel. It is made from sheet gold and has an inscription in elaborate inlays upon the exterior, giving the names and titles of the king and requesting that he enjoy longevity. Upon the interior is a similar inscription incised into the band.

40
BRACELET OF SEVEN RINGS
Gold
Diameter: 6.9cm
JE 85760

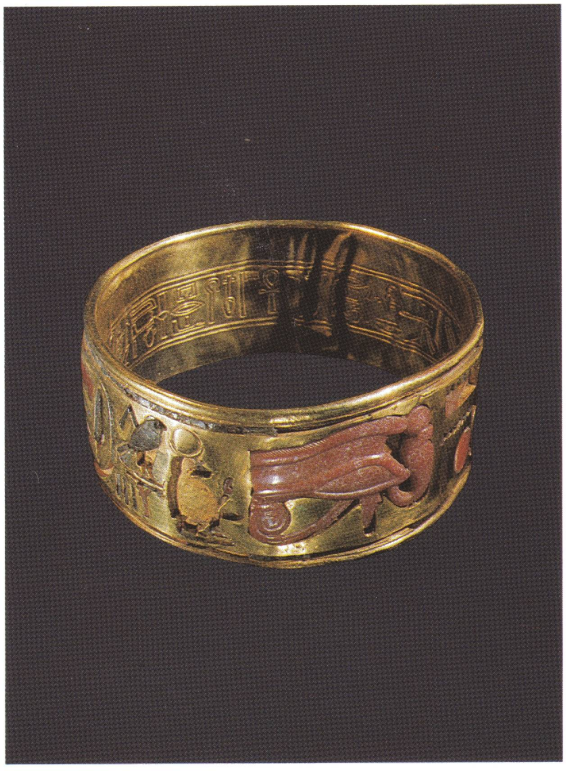
One of a pair of bracelets, this piece was found upon the king's right arm, the other being upon the left arm. It comprises two sets of seven semicircular, tubular sections which are hinged together. They are alternately plain and notched. Inscriptions incised into the third and fifth sections give the name of the king and supply the detail that this piece, and its pair, were dedicated to the king by his wife, Mutnodjmet

41
INLAID BRACELET
Gold and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 7.6cm
JE 85762

Again, one of a pair of bracelets found upon each arm of the king, this example comes from the right arm. It is made from two unequal, tubular sections slotted into each other and held in place by a pin. It is decorated with running spirals upon the top and bottom and a band of text around the exterior, giving the names and titulary of the king, all against an inlaid background of lapis lazuli.

42
BRACELET
Gold
Diameter: 10.5cm
JE 85772

This solid gold bracelet was found upon the left arm of the king's body. It is triangular in section and weighs almost 1.8 kg; a lightly inscribed inscription on the interior assures the king of the protection of the god Amun-Re. A similar bracelet, slightly lighter and smaller, was found upon his right arm, inscribed with text in which Mut, consort of Amun-Re, offers her protection to the king. Such heavy jewellery was probably only worn on ceremonial occasions during life.



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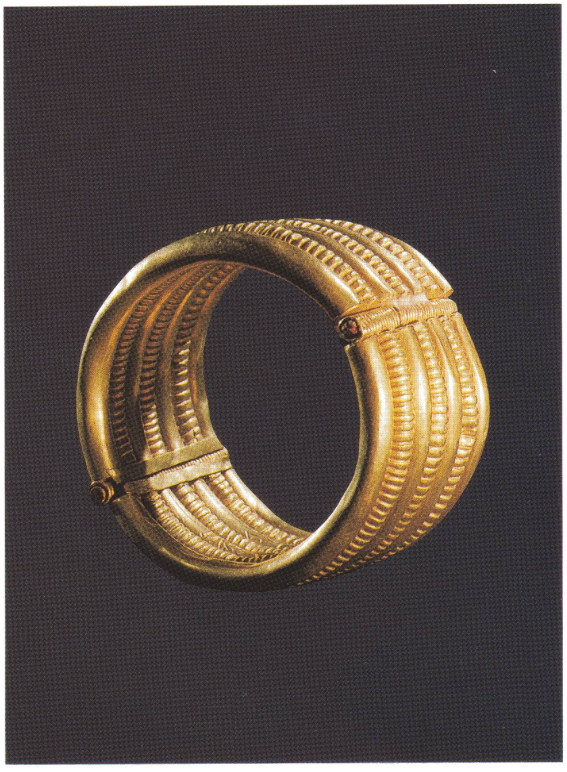

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43

INLAID ANKLET

Gold, carnelian and lapis lazuli
Maximum diameter: 6.1 cm
JE 85781

One of a pair of identical anklets found upon the mummy of the king, its inlaid decoration is dominated by the figure of the winged scarab beetle. The beetle rolls the solar disc before it and is shown atop the hieroglyph *aa* flanked by two rearing cobras; this is a rebus upon the name Aakheperre of Psusennes himself. This piece of the anklet is attached to three other articulated sections, hinged together, decorated with crescent shapes alternately gold and lapis lazuli.

43

43

44

44
INLAID RING
Gold, carnelian and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 2.2cm
JE 85222A

This ring, now somewhat rough in appearance, imitates the inlay techniques found commonly upon bracelets. It is divided into six sections, two of which contain the king's names. Found upon a thumb, it is one of thirty-six rings worn by Psusennes.

45

45
AMULET REPRESENTING THE HEART
Lapis lazuli and gold
Height: 4.7cm
JE 85804

This amulet is one of a series of eleven amulets in the shape of the hieroglyphic sign for the heart, all of which have gilt-edged perforations enabling them to be suspended. They are of decreasing size, the largest being 7.3cm high and the smallest 1.4cm; the present example falls fourth in the series. Upon it is incised a miniature scene depicting the three forms of the sun-god, Re, Atum and Kheperi (the sun at its height, setting and dawn respectively). These figures face a cartouche bearing the name of Psusennes and are separated from it by the words "is the protection of". The scene clearly represents the protection of the king by all forms of the sun-god.

46

46
FOUR AMULETS
IN THE SHAPE OF COLLARS
Gold
Maximum height: 3.6cm
JE 85813-14 & 85819-20

These four small amulets were attached to the bandaging of the king's body. They are cut from sheet gold and have incised details; rings are soldered onto their backs for attachment to the wrappings. Three invoke the protection of the deities Hor-Behdet, the sun (falcon headed), Nekhbet, patroness of Upper Egypt (the vulture) and Nekhbet coupled with Wadjit (the cobra), patroness of Lower Egypt, who are the Mistresses of the Double Crown of a united Egypt. The fourth, with human head, depicts the *ba* of the king himself. They are all shown with wings outstretched, as though miniature collars.

The senior official at the court of Psusennes I, General Wen-djeba-en-djed was granted the honour of being buried in a specially prepared chamber, number 4, within the king's tomb. The style of his burial imitated that of the king; it was discovered in 1946.

47
FLUTED BOWL WITH HANDLE
Gold and faience
Diameter: 15.5cm
JE 87741

This straight-sided bowl is decorated with deep flutings modelled out from the interior, which radiate from a central inlaid disk. This is ornamented with four stylised palmettes, in which Montet saw a combination of papyrus umbels and blue lotus flowers, symbols of the Delta and the Nile Valley respectively, the combination of which represents the unity of Egypt. The palmette was a motif widely used in the decorative arts of Western Asia and its occurrence here may indicate influence upon the Egyptian artists from that region. The flutings may be intended to render the bowl an imitation of a flower, either a blue lotus or chrysanthemum.

The handle is fixed to the bowl through two loops on a small plate held in position by four rivets; it is elaborated with five decorative rings, alternately smooth and ribbed. Opposite the handle on the interior are incised the name and some of the titles of its owner.

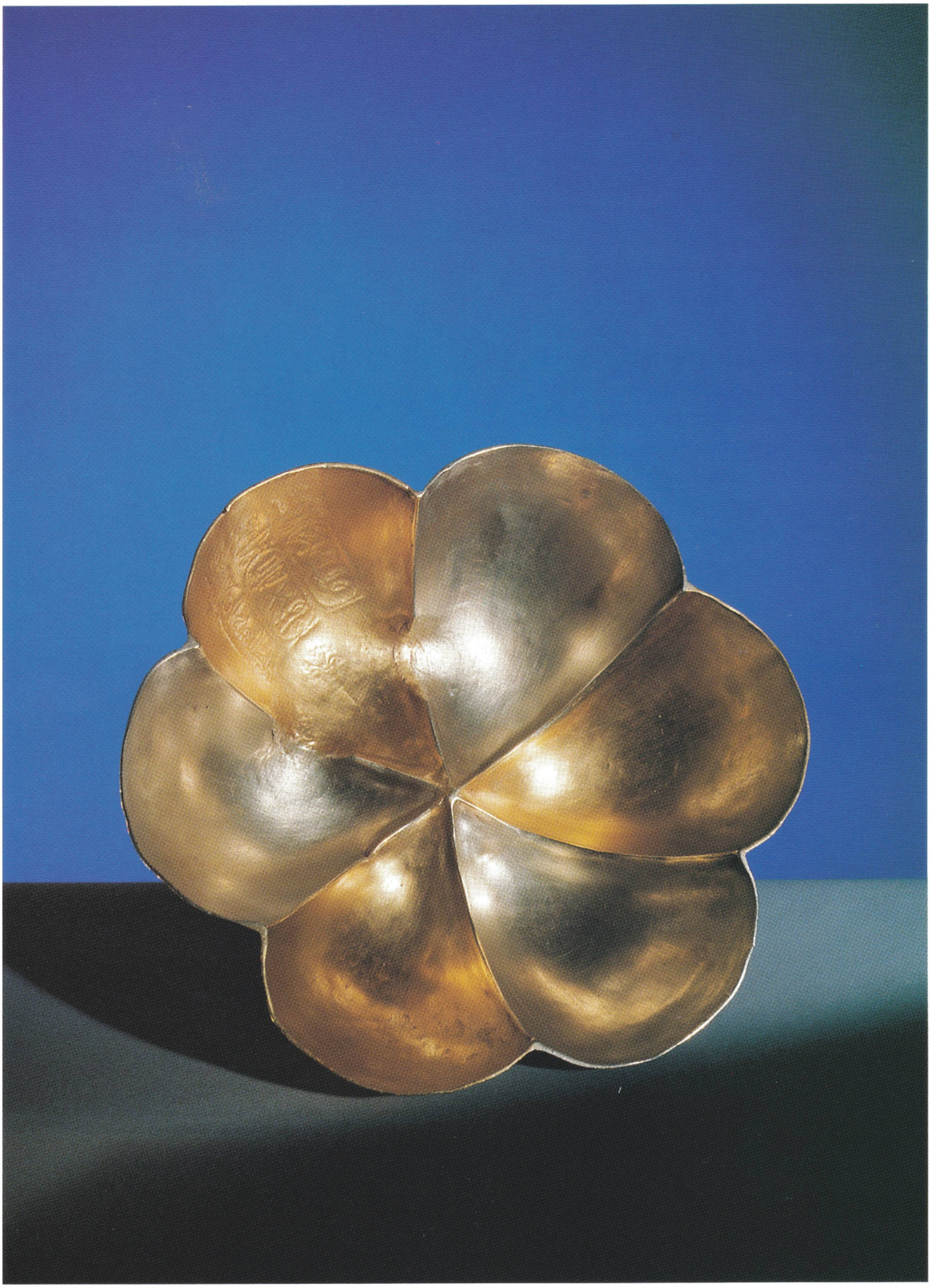
47

48
STEMMED BOWL
Gold and electrum
Diameter: 13.3cm
JE 87740

This unusual drinking bowl with flaring foot imitates a flower, the petals of which are alternately of gold and electrum. The foot, or stem, is also in gold and electrum, a gold section corresponding with an electrum petal, and vice versa; the parts are all soldered together. Into one of the gold petals are inscribed the names of Psusennes I and his wife Mutnodjmet. These are placed above a combination of three signs: a central bouquet flanked by a monkey with its hand to its mouth and the head of a lioness. These have been interpreted as a wish for "Life, Prosperity and Health".

The flower imitated by this bowl may be identified as the white lotus, the shape of which was commonly used for drinking bowls. The workmanship of this example is striking. Four metal vessels were placed upon the gilded wooden coffin of this general within a stone sarcophagus. When the wood rotted as a result of the humidity within the tomb they fell to the bottom of the sarcophagus, where Montet found them.

48



48

49
BOWL WITH AQUATIC SCENE
Gold, silver and glass
Diameter: 18.4cm
JE 87742

This is undoubtedly the most elaborately decorated metal vessel from the royal tombs at Tanis. The bowl is of silver with a single handle of gold attached by means of rivets. On the interior, surrounding a chrysanthemum flower with inlaid glass petals, is a centre-piece of repousse decorated, sheet gold. This carries an aquatic scene, in which four young girls swim amongst lotus flowers and fish. These swimmers are arranged in two confronting pairs and form a square; two of the girls on opposite sides of the bowl grasp a duck. The formality of this design is broken by the random placement of the plants and fish.

A semi-circular band of inscription on the interior informs us that this bowl was a gift to the general from his king.

49

49

50
WINGED SCARAB PECTORAL
Gold, lapis lazuli, green feldspar and faience
Width of pectoral: 9.8cm
JE 87709

The gold frame of this pectoral is inlaid in cloisonné technique with green, red and white faience and suspended upon a chain of 63 gold and 31 green feldspar beads. Within the architectural setting, a winged scarab beetle, body of lapis lazuli, elevates the name of Wen-djeba-en-djed to the winged sun's disc. The name of the general is inscribed upon a gold plaque flanked by cobras, to the right and left of which vultures offer the *djed* pillar of Osiris to the scarab. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys assist the ascent of the beetle, symbol of the rising sun. Below the frame of the pectoral is a frieze of alternating lotus flowers and *wadj* columns, representing vitality. This pectoral, like that from the tomb of Psusennes I (cat. no. 37), is a symbol of rebirth, and worn around the neck of the general would assist him to overcome death.

50

51
HEART SCARAB ON CHAIN
Gold and green feldspar
Length of scarab: 5cm
JE 87711

While Montet does not specify in his notes, this scarab was probably found resting upon the chest of the mummy with the chain around its neck. The beetle is of green feldspar and the chain comprises eight straight sections and a central curved piece. These are each made from a sheet of rolled gold; this unusual method of suspension is only attested by two items from this burial and no others.

The scarab is inscribed upon the back with chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead, a spell to ensure that the deceased retains possession of his heart in the afterlife. It carries within a cartouche the name Usermaatre, which was borne by several kings of the XIXth-XXth dynasties, including the most famous Ramesses of all, Ramesses II. Obviously reused by Wen-djeba-en-djed, it is the only surviving heart scarab from the Ramesside era.

In addition to this piece, the general reused for his burial the sarcophagus of a Theban high priest of Re, called Amunhotep, a carnelian bead originally belonging to the high priest of Amun Parennefer, a ring of Ramesses IX (cat. no. 53) and an amulet of Bastet which also bears the name Usermaatre (cat. no. 60). All of these objects, except the ring, may have been officially obtained from the Theban administration and collected as a result of the inspections of tombs on the west bank in the wake of tomb robbers.

52
RING WITH SACRED EYE AMULET
Gold and green stone
Diameter: 2.6cm
JE 87704

Upon the stalls which covered Wen-djeba-en-Djed's fingers were placed five rings, including this one and cat. no. 53. This example carries a green stone with a representation of the *wedjat*, the eye of Horus restored after wounding to intactness, a process from which its wearer would benefit in the afterlife. This amulet bears the name of Psusennes I.

53
RING WITH SACRED EYE AMULET MADE FOR RAMESSES IX
Gold and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 2.7cm
JE 87706

This ring resembles cat. no. 52 , carrying a depiction of the sacred eye of Horus upon its lapis lazuli plaque. The latter carries the name of Ramesses IX of the XXth dynasty (1134-1117 B.C.). This is one of the pieces reused by Wen-djeba-en-djed, see cat. no. 51.

54
INSCRIBED RING
Gold
Diameter: 3.3cm
JE 87702

This thick, solid gold ring is inscribed upon the outside with a single line of text which requests "life, prosperity and health" for the general from the god Khons, whom he served. While Wen-djeba-en-djed possessed only one such band, Psusennes I had five interred with him.

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52

53

51

54

55
THE GODDESS BASTET
Gold
Height: 7cm
JE 87718

This small figure of a goddess was one of six images of deities suspended from a single chain around the neck of Wen-djeba-en-djed. It depicts a slender female form with the head of a lioness, wearing the solar disc and uraeus. This image represents the destructive power of the gods in female form, the "Eye of Re", most commonly identified with the goddess Sekhmet, "the Powerful One". However, this is also an aspect of Bastet who was revered at Bubastis, family home of the XXIInd dynasty kings. That Bastet is represented by this figure is indicated by the text upon its base. The worship of this goddess in the form of the domestic cat rather than a lioness was a later development.

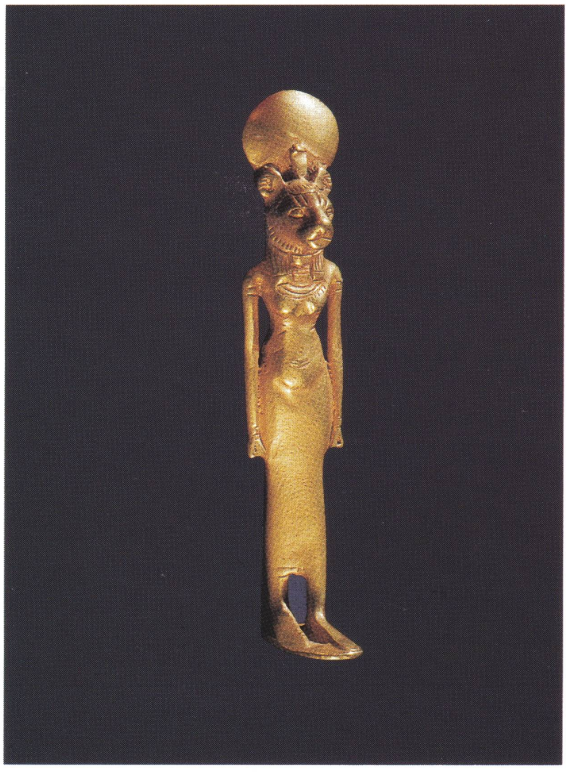
56
THE GODDESS ISIS
Gold
Height: 11cm
JE 87716

The image of Isis, attached to a gold chain with herring-bone design eighty-two centimetres long, was hung around the neck of the general. This graceful figure wears a tight-fitting dress, arm bands and a collar, similar to the attire of the image of Bastet, cat. no. 55; her crown comprises the solar disc between cow's horns. This was the crown of the goddess Hathor and its use by Isis indicates that, in certain aspects, the two were being identified; the name of Isis is engraved on the base. In total there were twelve small figures of gods upon the general's body.

57
THE GOD PTAH WITHIN A SHRINE
Gold and Lapis Lazuli
Height: 6cm
JE 87712

Set within an elaborate gold shrine is an amulet representing the god Ptah which has, quite clearly, been reused. The mummiform figure of the creator-god of Memphis lacks the lower part of its legs and feet, yet despite this it was regarded as being worthy of preservation. This may have resulted from the unusual inclusion with Ptah's normal iconographic features (mummiform, skull cap and sceptres) of the solar disc, which he wears upon his head. Papyrus-shaped standards frame the figure of the god, each supporting two falcons wearing sun's discs, which may represent the soul of the god or some solar attribute. Upon each side of the shrine are six pairs of gods, attendant upon the great god.

Included amongst Wen-djeba-en-djed's funerary amulets were three other stone amulets representing gods which had also been reset within elaborate mountings, cat. nos 58-60, possibly by the same craftsman.



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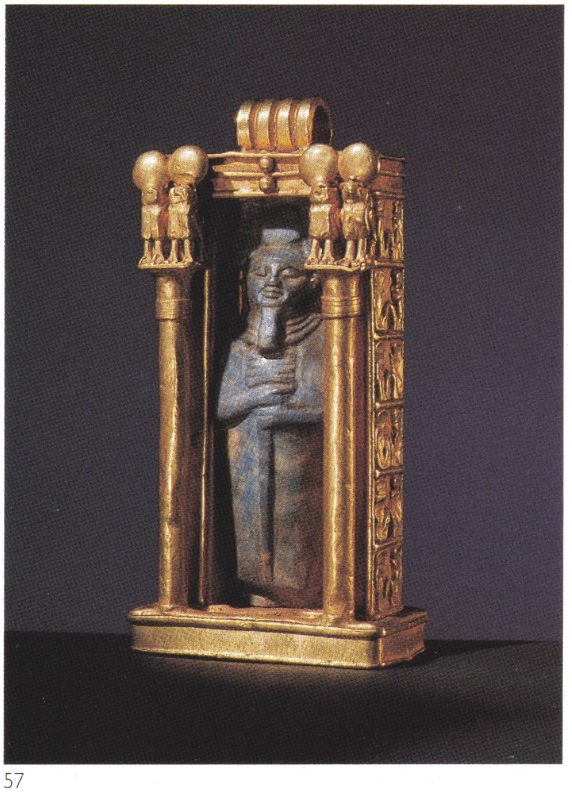

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58
THE RAM OF AMUN WITHIN A SHRINE
Gold and lapis lazuli
Height of shrine: 3.8cm
JE 87715

From the beginning of the New Kingdom the ram was regarded as sacred to the god Amun. This originally quite plain figure of a walking ram was considerably embellished during the XXIst dynasty. To its base was added a gold casing, as was a solar disc with uraeus as crown and a back covering in the form of the vulture of Nekhbet, also in gold. It was then supplied with a shrine, or amulet-holder, with a sliding front panel and loops for its suspension. The sides of this container are decorated in repousse with figures of a seated ram-headed lion, symbol of Amun's power, over the back of which are four cobras wearing solar discs, representing his universal radiance.

59
AMULET OF RAM-HEADED STANDARD
Gold, brown stone and coloured paste
Height: 5.7cm
JE 87714

A small, well polished stone bead has been used to form the column of a ram-headed standard wearing the *atef* crown, set upon a small pedestal and framed by two *djed* pillars. The latter were inlaid with brown and white paste, most of which has decomposed; a suspension ring is fitted to the rear of the crown.

This small amulet has quite complex religious significance. The crowned, ram-headed standard can be seen as a miniature of the sacred staff of Amun-Re, while the *djed* pillars evoke Osiris. It also forms a three-dimensional hieroglyphic writing of the name of Banebdjedet, the Ram of Mendes, the name of this city being written with the two djed pillars. This god was regarded as a form of the composite god Sokar-Osiris; its cult centre was the probable home of Smendes, founder of the XXIst dynasty.

60
AMULET OF BASTET
Gold, amethyst quartz and coloured paste
Height: 5.3cm
JE 87713

This amulet originally comprised a figure of the goddess, represented with human body and lion head, seated upon a cube-shaped throne with a back support. The sides of the throne were ornamented with gold plates inlaid with blue, green and red paste in a feather motif, common on all types of furniture. In this form it was made in the XIXth or XXth dynasty as the cartouche bearing the name Usermaatre, engraved on its underside, indicates (see cat. no. 51). The goddess' titles are given there also as "Lady of Bubastis, Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven", duplicating those found upon the standing figure displayed in this exhibition (cat. no. 55).

A jeweller of the XXIst dynasty added to this simple amulet a braiding of gold around the edge of the throne and back support and crowned the figure with a gold sun's disc with uraeus, a symbol of Bastet as "Eye of Re". A loop was fitted at the rear of the crown for suspension; the eyes were inlaid with coloured paste. These embellishments contrast strongly with the plain form of the original amulet.

58

59

60

Amenemope was the successor, and possibly son, of Psusennes I who reigned between 993 to 984 B.C. Although he prepared a tomb at Tanis for himself, his burial was found in 1940 within chamber 2 of Psusennes I's tomb, designed originally for the burial of Queen Mutnodjmet.

61
SHABTI
Faience
Height: 9.1 cm
JE 86069

Almost three hundred worker shabti figures were found with the king's burial, made in turquoise or green faience. This example, which is typical of them, is roughly formed, wears the usual wig and carries two hoes. On its front is written the name of Amenemope.

62
OVERSEER SHABTI
Faience
Height: 8.9 cm
JE 86069

Thirty-four overseer figures were supplied to ensure that the worker shabtis performed their tasks, to which end they carry whips. These figures, with their cursorily represented kilts, are uninscribed.

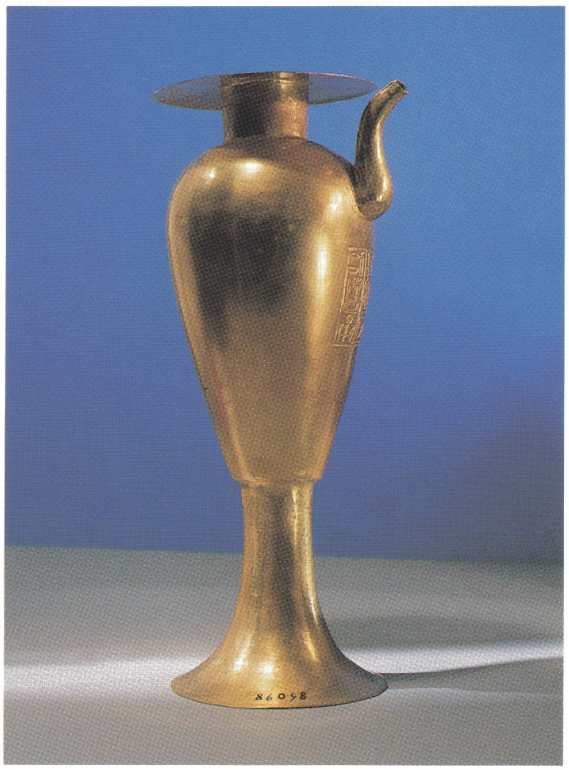
61 62

63
LIBATION STAND
Silver
Height: 41.7cm
JE 86102

This libation stand comprises two pieces: a tall, hollow "foot" made from two sheets of silver soldered together, and a wide-rimmed, deep bowl which sits in the lower part. The edges of the foot and the bowl are reinforced. Scenes in temples, tombs and upon stelae show the use of such stands in the pouring of water libations for the gods and the dead. These were poured from either *nemset* (cat. no. 24) or *heset* vases (cat. no. 64); the removable bowl could be cleaned and emptied once the offering had been made.

63

The rim of the bowl is inscribed with the names of the king, which are repeated in the single column of inscription on the front of the lower part. This text also offers to Amenemope "this fresh libation which has come forth from Elephantine and which emerges in the region of Heliopolis....". The ancient Egyptians believed that the annual inundation of the river Nile was caused by the rising of underground waters at Aswan, to serve the Nile Valley, and then at the apex of the Delta to serve the north of the country. The libation offered to the king in the text upon this object is equated with the life-giving waters of the annual Nile flood.



64

64
LIBATION VASE
Gold
Height: 19.8cm
JE 86098

This elegant vase was called *heset* in ancient Egyptian and is one of the most commonly depicted types of vessel in scenes of pouring libations of water. Its shape is classic, like that of the stand, cat. no. 63, both of which can be traced back to the Old Kingdom. This example is made in five pieces which are soldered together: the basal disc, the foot, the body and neck, the rim and the spout. In a rectangular panel upon the front are the names of the king, said to be beloved of Osiris.

65

65
PECTORAL ON CHAIN
Gold
Height of Pectoral: 8.9cm
JE 86038

This pylon-shaped pectoral is one of two such found upon the body of the king. It is made from two sheets of gold with two suspension rings soldered onto the upper edge, to which the chain is attached. Each side bears an identical scene, one in repoussé and the other incised, of the king making an offering of incense to the enthroned Osiris. The latter carries the crook and the flail, insignia of his rule of the dead, and wears the *atef* crown; the king wears the *nemes* and a starched kilt. In the cavetto cornice which tops this pectoral in the shape of a temple gateway, is a winged sun's disc; below the central scene is a frieze of alternating *djed* pillars, symbol of Osiris, and knots of Isis. In addition to providing the names of the king and the god, the inscriptions inform us that Amenemope offers incense and water to Osiris, necessary acts to ensure participation in the god's eternal life.

67

67

67

Bracelet with the name of Psusennes I
Gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian, green stone and coloured faience
Height: 6.9cm
JE 86028

This is one of a pair of identical bracelets which where found in the sarcophagus of Amenemope, and which are of excellent workmanship. It comprises two articulated sections held in place by a pin which passes through a series of small tubes, each of which is ornamented with a winged scarab beetle. The body of the beetle is made from lapis lazuli and the wings are inlaid with coloured faience. Flanking the beetle are cartouches bearing royal names, not of Amenemope, but of his predecessor Psusennes I, who may have been his father. In addition to bearing the solar disc aloft, the scarab takes with it the king's names.

66

66
FALCON PECTORAL
Gold, carnelian and multi-coloured faience
Width: 37.5cm
JE 86036

This elaborately inlaid pectoral in the form of a falcon was found upon the chest of the king's body. Loops, on the underside, at the tips of the wings and on the plaques which it grasps, enabled it to be suspended upon a chain. The details of the falcon's wings, body and head are inlaid with multi-coloured faience in cloisonné technique. This bird was a symbol of Horus, son of Osiris and Hor-Behdet, a solar deity, both of whom were patrons of Egyptian kingship. It is represented as though ascending to the heavens bearing along with it the names of Amenemope, written in cartouches, the beloved of Osiris. Only one other large falcon pectoral was found at Tanis, upon one of the bodies which flanked that of Shoshenq II in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I, made from sheet gold.

66

68 69

These kings were the last two rulers of the XXIst dynasty; Siamun ruled from 978 to 959 B.C. and Psusennes II from 959 to 945 B.C. The decomposed burials of these kings are now identified as those which flanked that of Shoshenq II in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I, which were discovered in 1939.

68-69
SHABTI AND OVERSEER SHABTI OF SIAMUN
Faience
Height: 8.2cm
JE 86957B & 86957A

Most of the shabti figures belonging to king Siamun were found in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I, though some were discovered in the tomb IV built by Amenemope. Three hundred and forty-five worker figures and twenty-nine overseer figures are preserved in the Cairo Museum. They are very crudely fashioned and are supplied with breasts, a feature encountered upon those of Psusennes II and Shoshenq II also. The distinguishing features of the overseer figure, namely the kilt, beard and whips, are barely discernible.

70 71

70-71
SHABTI AND OVERSEER SHABTI OF PSUSENNES II
Faience
Height: Shabti 6.8cm Overseer 7cm
JE 86958 & 86959

These shabti figures have been attributed to the last king of the XXIst dynasty, Psusennes II. This seems probable for the overseer figures which carry the name of a Psusennes and are stylistically closely related to the shabtis of Siamun. The worker figures are uninscribed. They are extremely crude verging upon the grotesque. However, it should be remembered that this would not have decreased their efficacy in the afterlife.

Shoshenq II was co-regent with his father Osorkon I for possibly no longer than one year in 890 B.C.; his intact burial was found in the antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I in 1939.

72
SHABTI
Faience
Height: 12.5cm
JE 96956.10

This figure, in pale turquoise faience, is one of "roughly 360 female statuettes" all uninscribed, found in the antechamber of Psusennes' tomb. Their open hands are folded below the breasts. On the basis of style and material they have been compared with the overseer figures found beside the coffin of Shoshenq II and which probably belonged to that ephemeral ruler.

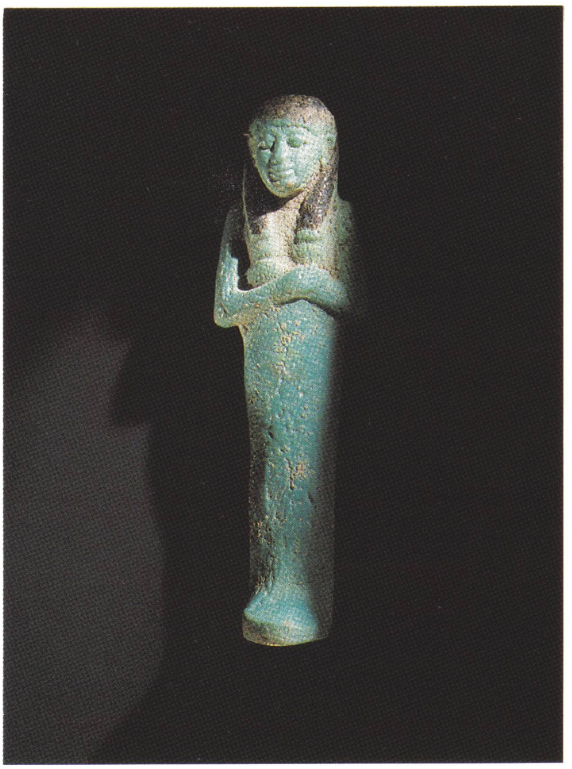
73
OVERSEER SHABTI
Faience
Height: 13.2cm
TR 6/7/48/1B

Thirty to forty overseer shabtis of this type were found lying beside the coffin of Shoshenq II. They wear bag-shaped wigs, beards and long kilts; their arms are folded over the chest. The left hand is open and the right holds a short baton; more frequently the overseers are shown carrying two whips. These figures were initially attributed to Amenemope, who was buried in chamber 2 of Psusennes' tomb. However, they differ markedly from the shabtis inscribed with that king's name (cat. nos 61-2) and are now ascribed to the ruler near whose burial they were found.

74
CANOPIC COFFIN
Silver
Height: 25cm
JE 72159

This miniature coffin is one of four which had been used to contain the preserved internal organs of the king. Each of these was protected by one of the Four Sons of Horus, whose name is written upon the coffin along with that of the king. The coffins all have human heads and the facial features are probably intended to represent the king. The head is adorned with the *nemes*, uraeus and false beard. The coffin is made in two parts which are held together by a pin which passes through three rings to form a hinge.

It is probable that most of the kings of the New Kingdom adopted this practice, but it is first encountered in the burial of Tutankhamun where the small coffins were placed inside an alabaster chest. The canopic coffins of Shoshenq were found within reused alabaster jars.



72

73

74

75

A PAIR OF SANDALS
Gold
Length: Right sandal 29.2cm
Left sandal 28cm
JE 72166 A-B

This pair of gold sandals was found upon the king's feet. They copy the shape of the leather or fibre sandals sometimes worn in daily life. The front of the sole curls back narrowing into a band which joins another over the instep. Where they meet, a thong projecting up from the sole, which would have passed between the big toe and second toe, is also attached. The sandals are made from sheets and strips of gold soldered together. It is unlikely that such sandals were worn during life, rather they were intended to ensure that the king was appropriately shod in the manner of the gods.

75

76
BELT AND APRON FRAME
Electrum, red and blue paste
Length: Belt 1.1m Apron 40cm
JE 72168

This rarely preserved item of apparel was found upon the king's body. It comprises a belt of electrum decorated with a chequer motif which fastens at the rear, with an attached apron frame at the front, also in electrum. The bottom of the latter carries a stylised floral design while the sides are inlaid alternately with small squares of red and blue paste. The apron frame originally supported a netting decorated with gold beads and cloisonné floral motifs. A small gold amulet was originally attached to the belt, depicting a swallow with the sign *shen* on its back, the combination of which may be read "great circle".

The details of this kilt differ slightly from those shown worn by the kings in reliefs and upon statuary, which may indicate some mortuary connection for this example. It resembles the apron worn by the figure on the exterior of the lid of Merenptah's sarcophagus lid, reused by Psusennes I, and also those shown in the frieze of objects depicted on the inside of Middle Kingdom coffins.

76

77

SCARAB PECTORAL
Gold, lapis lazuli, green and red faience
Height of Pectoral: 7cm
JE 72172

Like many of the pectorals from the royal tombs at Tanis, the central motif of this one is the scarab beetle supporting the disc of the sun. Symbolising Kheperi, the rising sun, the scarab is shown emerging from the sign for the horizon. It is flanked by two rearing cobras, crowned with the *hedjet* "white crown" of Upper Egypt (the Valley); their ribbed bodies pass through a *shen*, sign of eternity, rising to frame the scarab and terminating at the sun's disc. The lower part of the pectoral comprises a rectangular plaque with an inlaid motif of inverted blue lotus flowers, buds and small circles. It is held in place by a series of tubes attached to the pectoral and the plaque through which a pin passes. The motifs of the front are duplicated in incised technique upon the gold leaf of the back. The scarab's underside is not flat but its gold setting is modelled to reproduce the details of its body.

Despite the loss of much of the inlay, this piece remains one of the most attractive of all of the pectorals from Tanis. That both cobras wear the same crown, rather than one the crown of Upper Egypt and the other the crown of Lower Egypt, is unusual. It has been suggested that the pectoral forms a rebus on one of the names of Shoshenq's grandfather, the founder of the XXIInd dynasty, Shoshenq I, which was a compound of the signs for the white crown, the scarab and the solar disc: Hedjkheperre. This king is also mentioned upon another item of jewellery from this burial (cat. no. 79), both of which might have been heirlooms.

77

78

78
SCARAB BRACELET
Gold, lapis lazuli and coloured paste
Diameter: 6.7cm
JE 72189

This is one of two gold bracelets supporting a scarab found upon Shoshenq II's body, the design of which is ultimately derived from rings with pivoting scarabs known from the Middle Kingdom onwards. It consists of two parts, a gold open-ended bracelet ornamented with papyrus umbels and a lapis lazuli scarab mounted in a gold setting. The latter is held in position by a shank through its body set into the ends of the bracelet and fixed to a short gold nail which pierces the stem of the bracelet. The mounting obscures part of the inscription on the underside of the scarab, but enough is visible to show that the name thereon is Djedptahefankh, not that of Shoshenq. That name was common at the end of the New Kingdom. The scarab in the pair to this piece appears to carry a cartouche with the name Menkheperre and possibly belonged to Tuthmosis III of the mid-XVIIIth dynasty.

79
INLAID BRACELET
Gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian and white faience(?)
Diameter: 7cm
JE 72184B

This is also one of a pair of bracelets found upon the king's body. It is composed of two unequal sections which are attached to one another by means of hinges, comprising interlocking tubes attached to each edge, through which pins are slotted. One of these pins is removable, enabling the bracelet to be opened.

The exterior is decorated with vertical bands of inlaid lapis lazuli alternating with gold bands, between an inlaid edging. This is broken by a panel containing the *wedjat* eye upon a basket.

The eye upon this bracelet is the left eye while its pair carries the right eye, and between them they depict the two eyes (the sun and the moon) of the ancient celestial god, Horus. This difference in the decoration of the two bracelets is a mark of the Egyptian love of symmetry. Wearing these bracelets the king would be guided by the eyes of the god into eternity.

79

80

80
BRACELET WITH CYLINDER SEAL
Gold and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 7.7cm
JE 72186

This unusual piece was found upon the right arm of the king. The lapis lazuli cylinder seal, 2.8cm long, is mounted between an open-ended bracelet made from two unequal lengths of gold tubing joined by a nail. Into the cylinder is engraved a scene of three heroes battling a rearing lion and bull, placed symmetrically, to the right of which is a seated figure above the god of the waves. Little remains of the original text. The cylinder is, quite clearly, not Egyptian but comes from Mesopotamia, ancient Iraq. It is dated, by means of stylistic and iconographic features, to approximately 2,300 B.C. and the reign of Sargon of Akkad. How this piece reached Egypt we shall never know; for Shoshenq II, buried some 1,400 years after the seal was made, it must have had an exotic appeal.

81

81
SCARAB RING
Gold and lapis lazuli
Diameter: 2.5cm
JE 72190

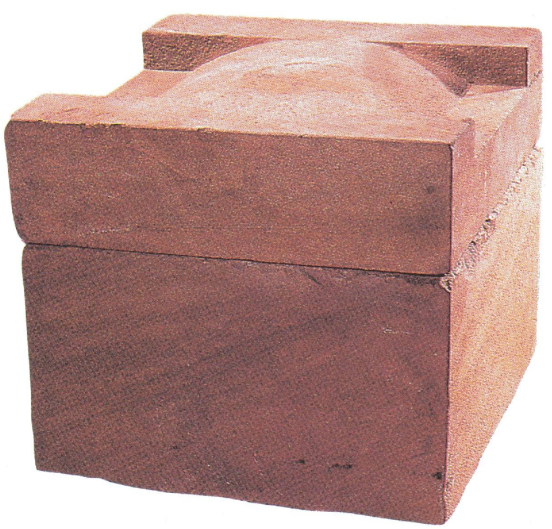
This is one of only two rings worn by Shoshenq and which resembles closely the scarab bracelet from his burial (cat. no. 78). The scarab of lapis lazuli is suspended upon a shank attached to the ends of the gold band, which are decorated with papyrus umbels. The scarab has been reused in this setting, the inscription upon its underside informing us that it was made to protect a priest of Amun, the reading of whose name is a little uncertain.

The disturbed burial of Hornakht, a son of Osorkon II who ruled from 874 to 850 B.C., was found in 1939 within the burial chamber of his father's tomb at Tanis. This room had been altered to receive Hornakht's interment within a granite sarcophagus subsequent to his father's death.

82
CANOPIC CHEST
Quartzite
Length: 82cm
Tanis, stone magazine

This quartzite chest was designed to house the jars which contained the internal organs and is in the shape of a vaulted chapel. When found, within the burial chamber of Osorkon II, it was empty and had been upturned upon a low wall, its lid lying upon the floor of the chamber. By whom it had been used is uncertain, though it had probably contained the internal organs of the king. It was thought that its strange find spot was the result of robbers' activity, though a re-examination of the tomb and Montet's notes, by Professor Yoyotte and Mr Brissaud, indicate that the base may have been built into the alterations of the structure which were made at the time of Hornakht's burial.

The chest is a fine example of Middle Kingdom workmanship and one of three large pieces of that date reused in the royal tombs at Tanis. The other two are the sarcophagi of Takeloth II, also found in the tomb of Osorkon II, and that placed in the tomb of Amenemope.



82

83

FOUR CANOPIC JARS

Painted Limestone
Average height: 38cm
JE 87087A-D

The internal organs removed during mummification were dried and placed within jars for burial within the tomb. These jars were provided with lids which take the form of the heads of the Four Sons of Horus, who protected the organs. The human-headed Imsety cared for the liver, baboon-headed Hapy the lungs, jackal-headed Duamutef the stomach, and falcon-headed Qebehsenuef the intestines. The lids of this present set of jars have painted details and the bodies each carry two lines of inscription. In each of these texts one of the great goddesses of Egypt also extends her protection over the organs within. Isis aids Imsety, Nephthys Hapy, Neith Duamutef and Selkis aids Qebehsenuef.

The name commonly applied to these jars is something of a misnomer. Early scholars saw in the human-headed jars representations of Canopus, pilot of Menelaus, who was buried at Canopus in the Delta and worshipped in the form of a human-headed jar with a swollen body. Thus the term Canopic Jar came to be applied to these vessels.

83

83

83

84
AMULET OF THE *BA*
Gold and blue paste
Width: 8cm
JE 87147

The soul was represented in Egyptian iconography as a human-headed bird and called the *ba*. After death it could leave the body during the day to observe the world of the living, but at night it returned to the tomb for shelter. This small amulet with wings outstretched, found upon the body of the prince, may be interpreted as showing the *ba* hovering above the body and assuring Hornakht of his reunion with his soul. It is made from sheet gold into which details are incised and the wig inlaid.

84

85 86

85
AMULET OF A VULTURE
Gold and coloured paste
Height: 3.5cm
JE 87154

The vulture was a symbol of Nekhbet, patron goddess of Upper Egypt and its white crown, whose protective role is extended to the body by this amulet. The wing is inlaid with blue and green paste. This is one of a series of divine images which would protect Hornakht.

86
AMULET OF A SEATED FALCON
Gold and coloured paste
Width: 4.7cm
JE 87153

This is a rare type of amulet which may be identified with the archaic fetish, the *sat*, represented as a bandaged bird of prey. This image appears to have been regarded as a figure of the goddess Isis weeping at the murder of her husband Osiris, and so became one of the protective amulets of Osiris himself. This example is elaborately inlaid in cloisonné technique.

87

AMULET OF OSIRIS

Gold and coloured paste
Height: 8.2cm
JE 87416

This sheet gold amulet depicts Osiris with his characteristic attributes, the *atef* crown, the crook and the flail, all symbols of his rule of the dead. He stands upon a pedestal in the shape of the hieroglyph m, symbolising Maat, universal truth and order. Loops attached to the crown, body and pedestal enabled the amulet to be fastened to the bandaging of the body.

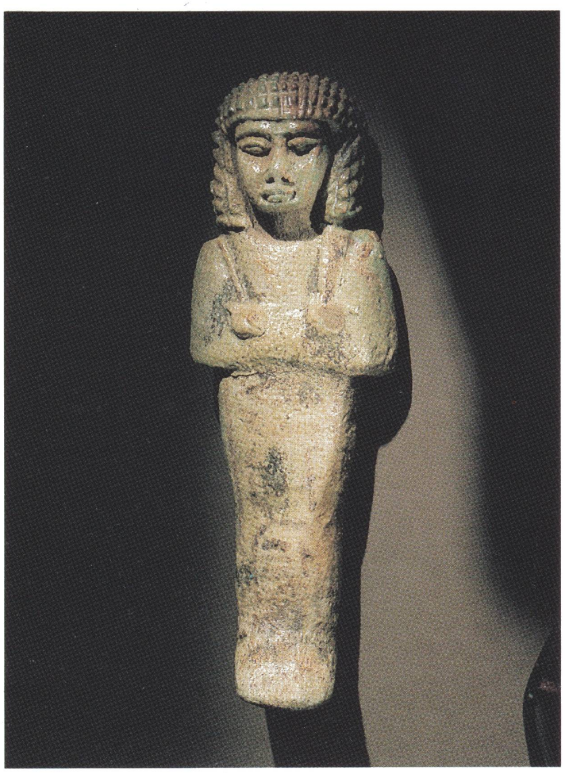
87

FROM THE BURIAL OF TAKELOTH II

Takeloth II, son of Osorkon II, succeeded his father and ruled from 850 to 825 B.C.; he was buried in chamber 3 of his father's tomb. The little that remained of his completely plundered burial was found in 1939.

88
OVERSEER SHABTI
Faience
Height: 13.7cm
JE 86953A

Unlike most overseer figures, those belonging to Takeloth II do not wear kilts but are shown mummiform. They have shoulder-length curly wigs and carry a whip in one hand and a baton in the other. Their fronts are inscribed with Takeloth's name. Other than a large alabaster vase and four canopic jars, little else remained of the king's burial equipment except the shabti figures.



88

FROM A ROYAL TOMB AT MEMPHIS OF THE XXIInd DYNASTY

89-90
TWO SHABTI FIGURES
Faience
Height: 89 22cm 90 24cm
JE 86765

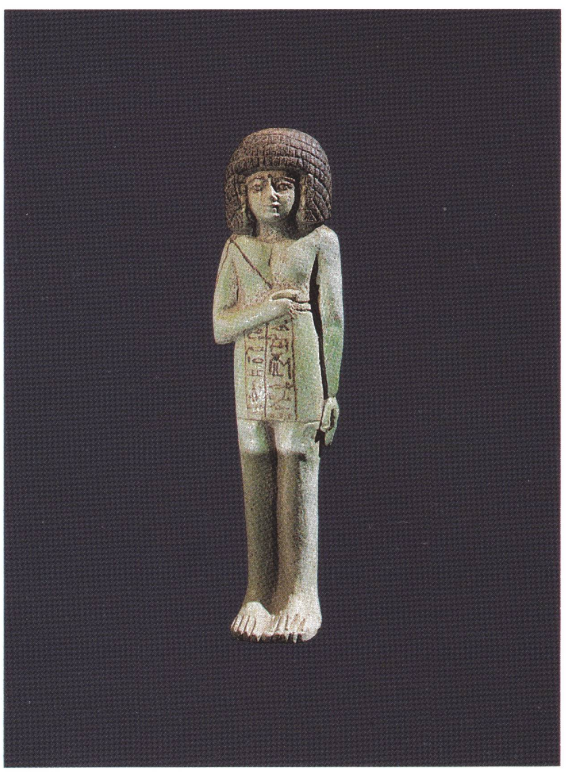
These two well-modelled shabti figures were amongst two hundred found in 1942 in the tomb of the high priest of Ptah Shoshenq, son of Osorkon II, within the temple of Ptah enclosure at Memphis (Mit Rahineh). Only fifty-one were well-preserved; other than the shabtis only the canopic jars, a few amulets and fragments of jewellery remained. The formula which compels the shabtis to work in place of their owner is inscribed in horizontal lines around the figures.

91
OVERSEER SHABTI
Faience
Height: 19.2cm
JE 86816

This figure is one of four overseer figures which were found with one hundred and forty-one worker figures in the tomb of Prince Shoshenq at Memphis and which belonged to his son, Takeloth. Takeloth was Great Chief of the Ma, the Libyan tribe to which the XXIInd dynasty belonged. The overseer figures wear tight kilts and a full curly wig; they stand rigidly, legs together, left arm straight and the right bent, holding a whip.

89

90



91

The XXIIIrd dynasty established its capital at Leontopolis in the Delta and it is possible that its kings were buried there. The burial of one queen of the dynasty was found at the site in 1915, Queen Kama, mother of Osorkon III and possibly wife of Shoshenq IV. She was buried during the reign of her son, which extended from 777 to 749 B.C.

92
PECTORAL WITH THE BIRTH OF THE SUN

Gold, silver, lapis lazuli and glass
Height: 11.7cm
CG 52715

This pectoral, the finest from the queen's burial, depicts a ram-headed human figure wearing the solar disc seated upon a lotus flower, with the goddess Hathor behind and Maat in front. On the obverse the central figure is of lapis lazuli mounted in gold; the lotus flower, with buds and leaves are gold cloisonné inlaid with lapis lazuli. The figures of the goddesses are finely worked in repoussé upon both sides from silver overlaid with a thin layer of gold leaf; the basal plinth was originally inlaid with red and blue glass. On the reverse of the pectoral the details of the ram-headed figure are carefully picked out upon the gold casing.

The theme of the pectoral is the birth of the sun on the first day. According to one myth, upon the primeval mound there was a pond covered with lotus flowers, one of which contained a womb. This was fertilised by the gods of chaos and the youthful sun-god was born. The appearance of the sun was the first day of the world. In this pectoral the sun is shown with the ram head of Amun-Re, a mature rather than youthful form; the solar disc is fronted with a cobra wearing the crown of Hathor. This goddess offers the sun a symbol of his rule of eternity, the hooked staff which rests upon a small tadpole, the numeral 10,000, and the *shen*. In front of the god is another of his daughters, Maat, the personification of harmony, who is depicted shaking the systrum rattles (now lost) to please her lord. This pectoral was a powerful symbol of eternal rebirth.

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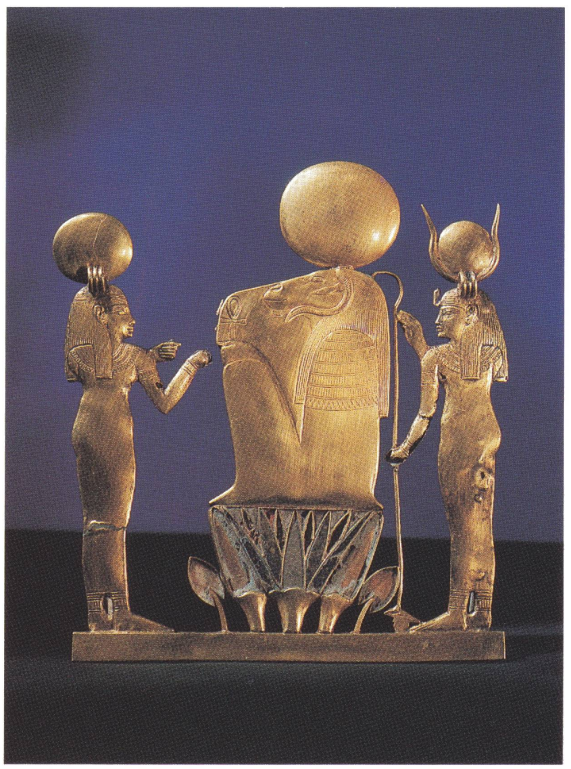

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GODS OF ANCIENT EGYPT mentioned in the text of this catalogue

Amun Patron of the king and creator-god, identified with Re to form Amun-Re, King of the Gods; revered especially at Thebes and Tanis; depicted as a man.

Anubis Jackal-headed patron of embalmers and protector of cemeteries.

Atum Original sun-god at Heliopolis, identified with Re; Father of the Gods; shown as a man.

Banebdjedet The ram of Mendes, associated with Osiris.

Bastet Worshipped at Bubastis; originally a powerful destroyer similar to Sekhmet, she became a beneficent goddess revered in the form of a cat.

Hathor A celestial goddess of many functions, regarded as Mistress of the West, "Eye of Re", goddess of pleasure; sacred animal, the cow.

Herishef Ram-headed fertility god of Heracleopolis

Horus Falcon-headed, the son of Osiris and Isis, identified with the living king; sacred animal, the falcon.

Hor-behdet Horus the ancient sky-god, patron of kingship; sacred animal, the falcon.

Isis Sister-wife of Osiris, mother of Horus; great magician and divine mourner.

Kheperi A creator-god, regarded as the rising sun; identified with Re and shown often as a scarab beetle.

Khons Moon-god, son of Amun; represented as a man, revered at Thebes and Tanis .

Maat Daughter of Re, goddess of universal order, truth and harmony; represented in female form; symbol, a feather.

Min Represented as an ithyphallic male; god of fertility; identified with Amun.

Montu War-god of Thebes, shown as falcon-headed.

Mut Vulture goddess, wife of Amun, revered at Thebes and Tanis

Neith An early war-goddess, worshipped at Sais in human form.

Nekhbet Patron goddess of Upper Egypt and the white crown; cult-centre at Nekheb; sacred animal, the vulture.

Nephthys Sister of Osiris and Isis; a divine mourner.

Nut The sky-goddess; represented in human form.

Osiris God of the Underworld and Resurrection; represented as a mummiform male; cult-centre at Abydos. Often identified with Sokar and Ptah.

Ptah Creator-god of Memphis and patron of artisans; represented as a mummiform male. Identified with Sokar and Osiris to form the composite Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

Re Sun-god of Heliopolis, representing the sun at its most powerful; supreme judge.

Sekhmet Lion-headed destroyer of the enemies of Re; wife of Ptah; worshipped at Memphis.

Seth God of storms and murderer of Osiris.

Sokar Falcon-headed god of cemeteries; revered at Memphis.

Thoth Moon-god, god of wisdom and divine scribe; cult-centre at Hermopolis; sacred animals, baboon and ibis.

Wadjit Cobra-goddess of Buto; patron of Lower Egypt and the red crown.

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A core collection of 68 exhibits was displayed in Paris and Marseille to honour the French excavations at Tanis. These exhibits were shown also in Edinburgh. The Egyptian Antiquities Organisation has generously allowed 23 additional major pieces to be included in the exhibition to come to Australia. The generosity of all those concerned who provided access to their research materials is gratefully acknowledged.

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